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# ART IN AMERICA *AND ELSEWHERE*

## AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

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### THIRTEENTH CENTURY FRESCOES AT MONTEPIANO

BY MARTIN WEINBERGER  
*New York City*

The little village of Montepiano is situated high up in the Appenine, close by the borderline that separates Tuscany from the Emilia, on the highway leading from Prato to Bologna. The history of the Badia di S. Maria, in the immediate neighborhood of the village goes back to 1005, if we may trust an inscription in the porch of the present Romanesque church. According to local tradition collected by Emilio Bertini<sup>1</sup> the Badia was founded by the Blessed Peter the Hermit, who died in 1010. We hear of a second consecration in 1138 by St. Atto, Bishop of Pistoja. In 1153 Val-lombrosan monks are mentioned for the first time as tenants of the Badia<sup>2</sup>, which in that period is the property of the Conti Alberti, who held it until 1325, when the Florentine family of the Conti Bardi (called da Vernio from their possessions in the neighborhood of Montepiano) came into possession. In 1346 the monks quarrelled with the Bardi and left the Badia, which was then turned into a "commenda."

Not much attention has hitherto been paid to the artistic decoration of

<sup>1</sup>Emilio Bertini, *Guida della Val di Bisenzio*, Prato 1892, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup>Emanuele Repetti, *Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana*, Firenze 1833, I 186.

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the church. The relief of the Virgin between Sts. Peter and Paul by Girolamo di Jacopo was published by Salmi<sup>3</sup> in 1914, but the only mention made in recent times of the remarkable frescoes is to be found in the Guida del Touring Club Italiano, where they are all ascribed to the school of Giotto.

A Virgin on the tympanum over the entrance door, a seated Virgin with two Saints and a kneeling monk on the interior south wall, and four standing Saints on the north wall all belong to the Florentine school of the later fourteenth century. But while these Trecento paintings offer nothing unusual, a series of earlier frescoes on the two inner side walls is of the highest interest. An enormous St. Christopher, on the south wall (5.10 m. high to 2.24 wide) (pl. 1), is evidently slightly older than the smaller pictures on the same wall which have been added as an afterthought, as is shown by their arrangement on either side of the St. Christopher. They are: to the left of the St. Christopher a seated Virgin (pl. 2), on the right the archangel Michael with the scales and a small devil claiming a soul (pl. 3). Then follows the Archangel Gabriel represented in the scene of the Annunciation (pl. 3). Next to this in the corner between the side and front walls, where a modern flight of stairs leads up to a gallery, the representation of the Nativity has been partly destroyed and the same is to be said of a painting on the north wall representing the Miracles of the founder, the Blessed Peter.<sup>4</sup>

It must be admitted immediately that the artistic quality of these smaller frescoes is in no way superior to the average production of the period. They have further suffered a great deal by being whitewashed at some date after 1735.<sup>5</sup> The only pictures that have never been treated in this barbarous manner were the four trecentesque saints on the left wall and the St. Christopher.

The enormous image of this saint (pl. 4, 5) is unique in almost every respect. In thirteenth century painting its majestic beauty has few parallels in Tuscany: it is unrivalled in the Florentine region. There is no earlier painted representation of the saint on Tuscan soil that we know of<sup>6</sup>, there is hardly even another wallpainting of so early a date.

<sup>3</sup>Mario Salmi, *Due rilievi romanici inediti*, in: *Arte e Storia* XXXIII, 1914, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup>There is a terracotta relief in the church roughly reproducing the composition of this painting. The relief dates from 1700; the inscription attributes the fresco to "il celebre Cimabue"; not a bad guess for the period!

<sup>5</sup>Emilio Bertini, *l. c.* p. 181.

<sup>6</sup>The earliest ones are those in Florence, S. Miniato; Rosano; Monticchio (Pienza) and Novoli, all dating from the first half of the 14th century. A wooden statue from the end of the 13th century at Barga. (With regard to the only representation earlier than the one at Montepiano, on a capital at Pisa, see the remarks on p. 51 and notes 11 and 21.) Cfr. Péleo Bacci in: *Bollettino d'Arte* XI, 1931-32, p. 479; Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, *Der hl. Christophorus*, Leipzig 1937, pp. 159-161, 164.

Compared with panel paintings which we consider roughly contemporary, like the St. Michael in Vico l'Abate or the St. Magdalen altar piece (Florence, Academy), the St. Christopher impresses by an even greater hieratic severity in coloring<sup>7</sup> and drawing. This may be accounted for in several ways: on the one hand the different æsthetic conditions of wall painting seem to offer a plausible explanation, on the other an element foreign to Tuscan painting might have been imported together with the iconographical pattern which is here introduced for the first time into Tuscany. For although the veneration of St. Christopher is extremely old<sup>8</sup>, the iconography of the Saint carrying the figure of Christ on his shoulder is comparatively recent. Until the late twelfth century the Saint invariably appears alone; thus in the probably oldest representation of Western origin, in S. Maria Antiqua (Rome, ninth century) or, in the first years of the eleventh century, at S. Vincenzo di Galliano near Como. In both cases he is represented as a beardless youth holding a staff covered with leaves on the top. The oriental church employs the same type, but more frequently Christopher is represented as a warrior (Hosios Lukas, Phokis, eleventh century). The literary tradition of St. Christopher as the ferryman who carries Christ across a river cannot be traced prior to the thirteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Pictorial representations seem to be slightly ahead of this date. The legend may well have originated from novellistic attempts to explain pictures in which the name Christophorus was interpreted in a literal, etymological sense. It is due to this interpretation that Christ appears in some of the oldest pictures not as a child, but as a full grown, often bearded, man.

The earliest monuments still extant in which this new type is introduced are a wall painting at Hocheppan<sup>10</sup> (Appiano) near Brixen (Bressanone)

<sup>7</sup>The solemn effect is to a great extent due to the simplicity of coloring throughout the picture: red prevails in different shades, of a dark hue in the cloak, pinkish in its ornamental borders, changing from dark red to yellowish hues in the pallium. Part of the white tunic is visible under the neck and over the feet; a yellow border round the right wrist. The girdle is white with blue shades like the lining of the cloak, the flesh greenish white, the hair brown. The background is blue with a broad yellow frame which reappears below in the water: the "window" effect usual in Romanesque miniature and wall painting, but never found on panels. The ornamental border shows red, yellow and greenish tints. The choice of colors in the smaller pictures is similar, with a strong preference of dark red (the two angels) and the same "window" effect of blue and yellow. The technique is a preliminary stage of genuine fresco, executed in lime colors; the staff of St. Christopher which was added *al secco* has disappeared. There is no repainting with the exception of the narrow dark red lines drawn round most of the original red borders.

<sup>8</sup>Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, l. c., p. 8. This excellent book is more reliable than the older literature.

<sup>9</sup>Rosenfeld, l. c. p. 367.

<sup>10</sup>J. Garber, Die romanischen Wandgemälde Tirols, Wien 1928, p. 60. pl. 42; A. Morassi, Affreschi romanici di Castel Appiano in: Bollettino d'Arte 1927. W. Arslan, pittura romanica d'oltralpe e alto-atesina in: Studi Trentini di scienze storiche XV, 1934, p. 317.

on the Brenner Pass and a sculptured capital in the Camposanto of Pisa<sup>11</sup>, both dating from the end of the twelfth century. They show the Saint holding Christ in his arms, a composition corresponding to that of the Virgin and Child or of Christ with the soul of the Virgin in the scene of the Dormition. This type can still be found throughout the thirteenth century particularly along the southern slopes of the Alps (S. Maria di Torello near Lugano, ca. 1217<sup>12</sup>; Taufers in the Vintschgau [Val Venosta], ca. 1290<sup>13</sup>). Only from about 1230 (Biasca<sup>14</sup> near Bellinzona) another composition is sporadically introduced which became the current type in the following century: Christ seated on the Saint's shoulder. Shortly later this new type finds a second centre in the Rhineland. An enormous wall painting in the parish church of Niedermendig (near Coblenz), dated around the middle of the thirteenth century by Clemen<sup>15</sup>, is not only the earliest representation of St. Christopher still extant in these parts, but also one of the first examples we know, of the Saint carrying Christ on his shoulder. Nevertheless the Rhenish painter evidently availed himself of a formula already established elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> For there can be no doubt that the true homeland of this second as well as of the slightly earlier type, and even of the legend<sup>17</sup> are the valleys south of the Alpine passes and the adjoining parts of northern Italy. In two distinct regions, one north of Milan, the other north of Verona, we find the oldest representations of both types. From there they travel into the plains of Italy along the great highways leading southwards from the passes.<sup>18</sup> A St. Christopher of about the middle of the thirteenth century in the Cathedral of Modena<sup>19</sup> and another wall painting, formerly in San Salvatore of Mantua<sup>20</sup> mark the southward progress of the second<sup>21</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Lasinio, *Raccolta di sarcophagi* . . . Pisa 1814, pl. LXIX, 83; Papini, *Catalogo delle cose d'Arte I, II, II Pisa*, p. 126. Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik des fruhen Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1926, pl. 54c.

<sup>12</sup>J. Rudolf Rahn, *Die mittelalterl. Wandgemaelde in der italienischen Schweiz*, in: *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zuerich*, vol. 21, 1881, p. 13 and pl. III, 1.

<sup>13</sup>Garber, l. c., pl. 86.

<sup>14</sup>Rahn, l. c. p. 14 and pl. III, 2.

<sup>15</sup>Paul Clemen, *Die gotische Monumentalmalerei der Rheinlande*, Duesseldorf 1930, p. 100, 104, pl. X.

<sup>16</sup>Thus the red cloak with the white ermine lining is the same which we find f. i. at Montepiano.

<sup>17</sup>Rosenfeld, l. c. p. 403.

<sup>18</sup>In Lombardy proper no early representations seem to have survived; the one in the atrium of St. Ambrogio, Milan (Romussi, *Milano nei suoi monumenti*, Milan 1912, I, p. 379) belongs to the early 14th century. But Lombard influence is evident in the Abruzzi: S. Pellegrino near Bominaco, dated 1263 (Bertaux, *l'Art dans l'Italie meridionale*, Paris 1904, I, p. 292, 296, 296 footnote 5).

<sup>19</sup>Giulio Bertoni, *Atlante storico-artistico del duomo di Modena*, Modena 1921, pl. XX.

<sup>20</sup>The church, later called S. Francesco a Paola, was abandoned in 1797. The frescoes passed into the Ventura collection, Florence; photo Zani 14620.

<sup>21</sup>The early representation on the capital at Pisa, showing the Saint holding Christ in his arms, is connected with the contemporary style of Lombard sculpture and may therefore have reached Pisa by another route.





PL. 2. VIRGIN AND CHILD



PL. 3. ANNUNCIATION  
*Montepiano, Tuscany*

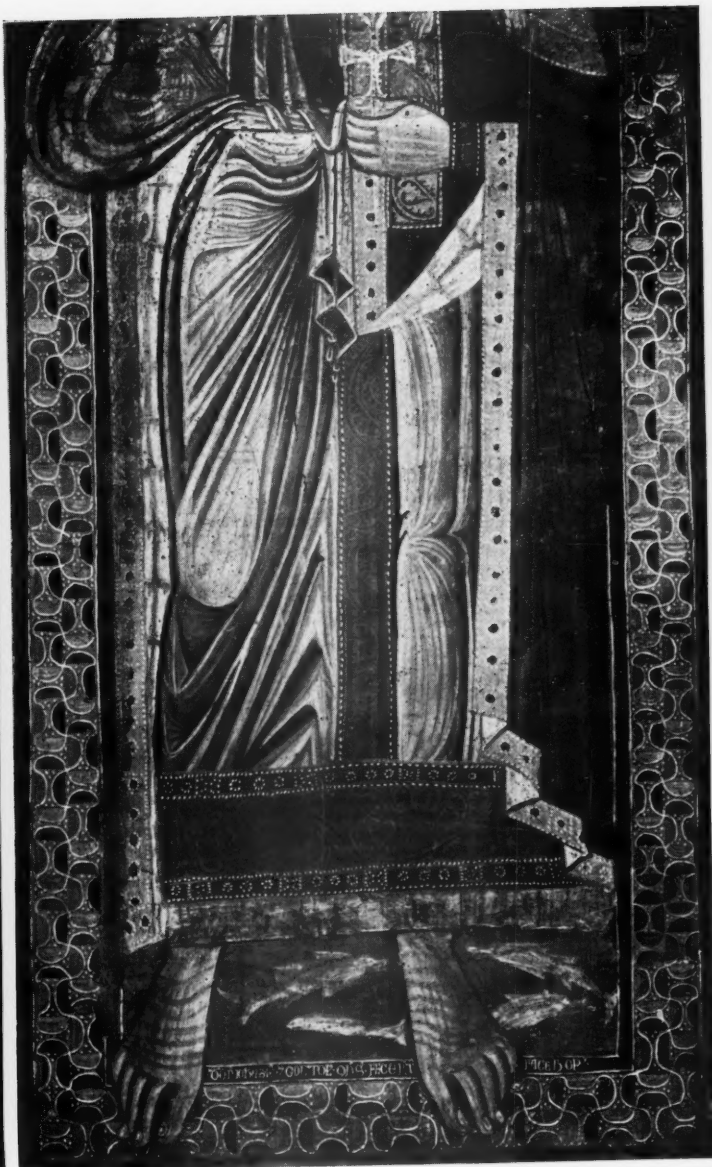
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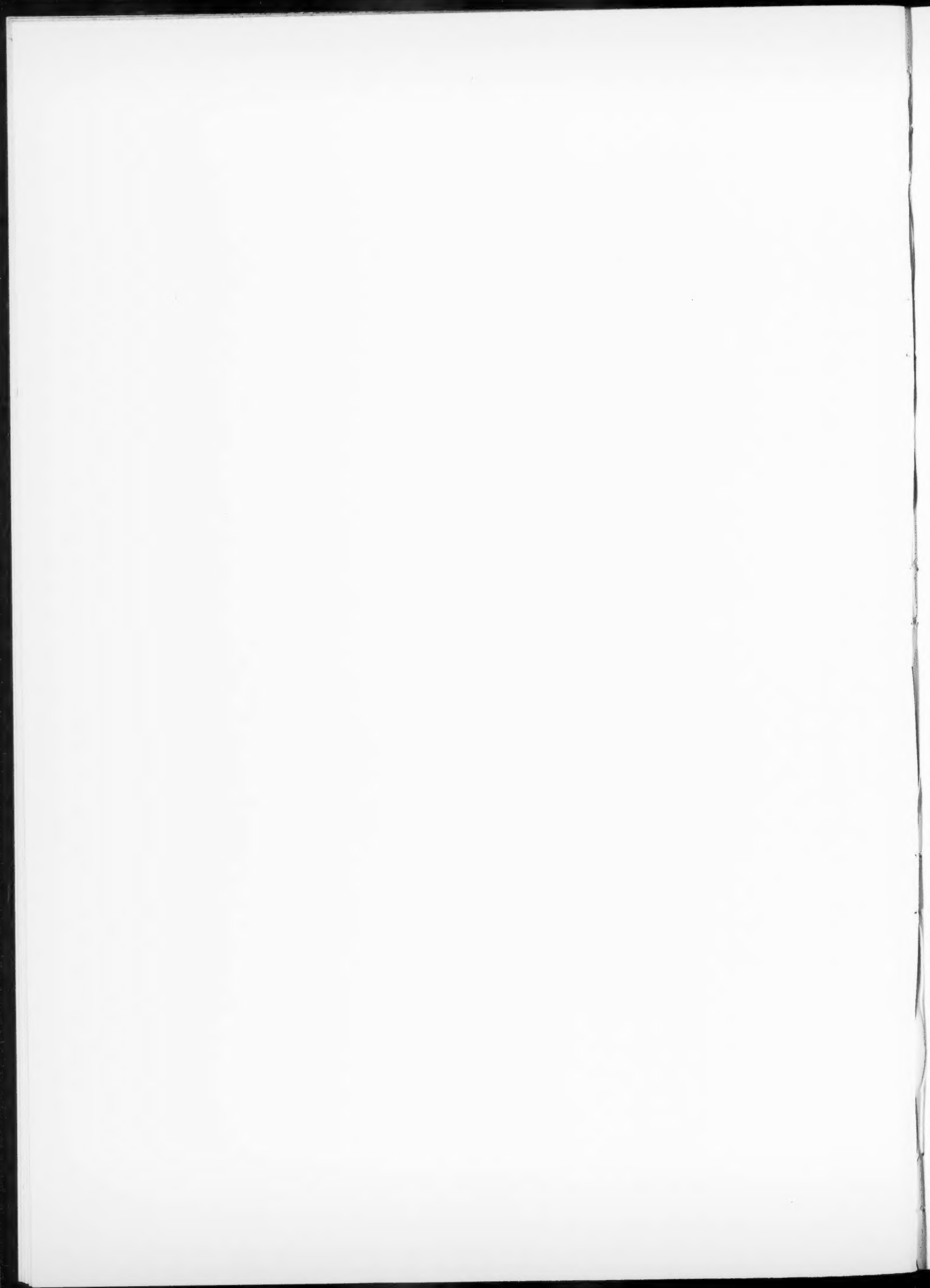


PL. 4. DETAIL OF ST. CHRISTOPHER



PL. 5. DETAIL OF ST. CHRISTOPHER

*Montepiano, Tuscany*



type. It is significant that the patron saint of travellers and pilgrims should have entered Tuscany at Montepiano which is situated on a mountain pass linking the great Alpine route of the Brenner with Rome. The connection between Montepiano and the country south of the Alps is sufficiently proven by the geographical diffusion of the legend and its representations; but a further and still more decisive argument is offered by the ornamental border framing the Montepiano St. Christopher.

The double-axe pattern<sup>22</sup> has been traced back to Carolingian manuscripts of the Ada group<sup>23</sup> and their descendants of the Reichenau school<sup>24</sup> as a form originally developed in Roman mosaic pavements. It begins to degenerate in Germany during the eleventh<sup>25</sup> and still more so in the course of the twelfth<sup>26</sup> century, when it becomes exceedingly rare; but in the meantime it had found its way to France, where it is used in wall painting<sup>27</sup> as well as in sculpture. In the beginning of the twelfth century the double-axe pattern first appears in Italy, probably introduced from France, in the sculpture of the Modena Cathedral by Master Guglielmus and his assistants, and in the wall paintings of Civate. The school of Guglielmus carries the motif to Nonantola, Carpi, Ferrara, Piacenza and even as far south as the cloisters of Monreale, Sicily. In the later part of the century it is used for the decoration of the apse at Hocheppan, the same church in which St. Christopher is first represented with the figure of the Christ on one of the outside walls. The double-axe border next appears in Ss. Apostoli of Verona on a fresco of St. George<sup>28</sup> dating from the first half of the thirteenth century. About the same time the double-axe is used on an ornamental frieze over a wall painting of the Crucifixion in S. Maria di Torello, another church containing an early St. Christopher. Thus by a curious coincidence there are in these regions two churches showing both the ornamental border and the composition of the Montepiano St. Christopher, though in neither of these churches is the border actually combined with the picture. Yet there should be no doubt that St. Christopher has come to Montepiano by way of Verona and not of Milan. The paintings on the Swiss churches near Lugano,

<sup>22</sup>See R. B. O'Connor, *The medieval history of the double axe motif* in: *A. J. A.* Vol. 24 (1920) pp. 151-170, where a somewhat sketchy survey of the development is given. In Byzantine art the ornament does not appear before the end of the 14th century. See M. Alison Frantz, *Byzantine illuminated ornament* in: *Art Bulletin* vol. XVI, 1934, p. 69, who gives too early dates to Paris gr. 54 and 543.

<sup>23</sup>A. Goldschmidt, *Karolingische Buchmalerei*, pl. 31, 38, 50.

<sup>24</sup>A. Goldschmidt, *Ottonische Buchmalerei*, pl. 17, 19.

<sup>25</sup>Boeckler, *Abendlaendische Miniaturen*, 1930, pl. 41.

<sup>26</sup>Georg Swarzenski in: *Staedel Jahrbuch*, VII-VIII, p. 267.

<sup>27</sup>f. i. at St. Savin, early 12th century. H. Focillon, *Peintures romanes*, Paris 1938, p. 25.

<sup>28</sup>E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *Medieval paintings at Verona*, in: *Art studies*, vol. VIII, II, 1931, p. 162, pl. IV.

S. Maria di Torello and Biasca<sup>29</sup> show the Saint wearing a crown, which of course constitutes a type very different from that of Montepiano. Besides the double-axe motif is much rarer in Italian Switzerland than in the Emilia and the country about Verona, where it had been freely disseminated during the twelfth century by the school of Guglielmus. But even in these parts of northern Italy we could name only one example of the thirteenth century besides Verona, a painted wall decoration in the atrium of the Badia di Pomposa<sup>30</sup>; the pattern which had hitherto shown two of the flaps folding over the other two is here already reduced to mere line work. In Tuscany we have no specimen of the double-axe except Montepiano, where the plastic values of the pattern are misunderstood much in the same way as in Pomposa. South of Tuscany the double-axe is extremely rare; it appears (apart from Monreale, where importation by Lombard masons is obvious) in a very degenerate form on one of the walls of Anagni<sup>31</sup> and in S. Maria ad Cryptas near Fossa in the Abruzzi.<sup>32</sup>

The occurrence of the double-axe pattern is not the only reason for establishing a connection between Verona and Montepiano. In a fresco at S. Zeno of Verona, representing St. John the Baptist and a female Saint standing on the left side of Christ enthroned<sup>33</sup> we find a strong Byzantine note, which Mrs. Vavalà has already attributed tentatively to "the influence of the mosaic workers in neighboring Venice." We may go further: there is no parallel in Venice to this style before the series of prophets on the walls of the west nave<sup>34</sup> of St. Mark's. The prophets on the north wall, as Demus has pointed out, are slightly older (ca. 1220) than those on the opposite wall (about 1230). In these earlier figures, representing Micheas (pl. 6), Jeremiah (pl. 7), Hosea and Joel there is that strong and organic plasticity which appears in the roundness of a knee, the depth of the folds, the delicately curved outlines which carefully follow the form of the limbs. All these as well as the relatively round, unbroken curves of the drapery are signs of a Hellenistic Renaissance<sup>35</sup>, which comes to Venice at the decisive moment, when its art breaks away from an earlier stage of excited linear drawing with a strong admixture of western Romanesque elements.

<sup>29</sup>Further specimens quoted by Toesca, *Pittura nella Lombardia*, Milano 1912, p. 142 footnote 2.

<sup>30</sup>M. Salmi, *L'Abbazia di Pomposa*, Rome 1936, pl. XIII.

<sup>31</sup>P. Toesca, *Affreschi decorativi in Italia*, Milano 1917, pl. 22.

<sup>32</sup>Bertaux, l. c. pl. XIV.

<sup>33</sup>Vavalà, l. c. p. 163 and fig. 8.

<sup>34</sup>O. Demus: *Ueber einige venezianische Mosaiken des 13. Jahrhunderts* in: *Belvedere*, Vol. XVIII, 1931, p. 87; Demus, *Die Mosaiken von S. Marco*, Wien 1935, p. 60.

<sup>35</sup>Compare f. i. the 11th century models in Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 10 und 11 Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pl. XXXV, No. 199; A. Muñoz, *I codici greci miniati*, Firenze 1906.



But even in these prophets western elements should not be overlooked. Thus for instance the feet slanting over the ornamental border, a motif then newly introduced into Venice. Combined with the spatial disposition of the background, which is derived from older Byzantine sources, it makes the figure appear in front of the frame, a concept which in its turn is entirely foreign to Byzantine art. The Veronese wall painting has taken up the position and even the drawing of the feet, but not the spatial implications which are too revolutionary to be understood by a provincial imitator. But in all other respects — and we must not forget to add the predominance of light color over the entire surface of the figure — the painting at Verona somewhat faintly reflects the Venetian mosaics.

The Montepiano St. Christopher shows the same elements of Venetian style in greater purity. The system of the drapery is intimately connected with that of the prophets in St. Mark's: the deep, sagging folds under the knee, the strong plasticity of the knee itself, the dark wavy lines on the thigh find a parallel in the Micheas; and for the typically Byzantine folds of the pallium on the right arm (not a genuine sleeve, but a misunderstood version of the sleeveless pallium worn by ancient orators and philosophers!) the Jeremiah (pl. 7) should be compared.

There is no school of painting anywhere in Tuscany and even less in the Emilia from which the Master of Montepiano could have received instruction concerning such details of drapery and modelling. Of course the general pattern of drapery in no wise differs from the usual Byzantine type. The dependence on Venice is revealed not so much by the pattern itself as by the exactness of the drawing and consistency of the modelling. The very sensitive drawing of the feet, particularly the toes (pl. 5), which are long and flexible like fingers, is also strikingly similar to what we find in the Venetian prophets, and very different from any representation of such details in Tuscan painting, as on the great painted crosses. Again, as in Verona, the spatial disposition has been suppressed, this time together with most other "Hellenistic" elements, such as the organic outline of the body and the classical distinction between the supporting leg and the "Spielbein." This tendency towards a style of rigid outline and unbalanced stance can already be observed in the later (south side) prophets in S. Mark's.<sup>86</sup> In the Ezekiel (pl. 8) the master has tried to counteract the reduced volume of the figure by making it touch the border on three sides. From this change in the relationship between figure and frame the Montepiano Master has devel-

<sup>86</sup>Demus, *Belvedere*, p. 93; *Mosaiken* p. 61.

oped a system in which the box-like background of the mosaics is reduced to complete flatness, while the enormous figure, pressed into a narrow frame, overlaps its boundaries on three sides — very effectively, though delicately even on the left hand side. Thus it appears irresistibly powerful like a river overflowing its borders. This transformation of a classically inspired model according to the æsthetic requirements of western Dugento painting does not interfere with classical motifs where they can be expressed in terms of surface values. The elegant gesture of St. Christopher's right hand holding the staff presupposes a classical model like the statue of Mars on one of the Venetian mosaics.<sup>37</sup>

Our assumption has been confirmed that on its way down from the Alps the new type of St. Christopher has carried with it stylistic elements foreign to Tuscan painting. Intermediate stages of this way were found at Mantua and Modena, but only so far as the iconographical type was concerned; no traces of this particular Venetian influence can be observed among the scanty remains of painting in Emilia. At Montepiano this style met with a Tuscan tradition of long standing. The head of the Saint and his left hand with the characteristic cumbrous form of the thumb reveal the influence of the Berlinghieri. The facial type is derived from Berlinghieri's Christ on the Cross (pl. 9) (Lucca, Museum) and has considerable resemblance with late descendants of the Berlinghieri school like the Cross in the Palazzo di Venezia, Rome (pl. 10), where the cheeks show the same heavily sagging, inflated form. In the Montepiano Christopher the rim of the white tunic closely follows the lines of the muscles of the neck for which Berlinghieri had developed a peculiar pattern based on Byzantine prototypes like the Pantokrator at Cefalù.<sup>38</sup> The same pattern occurs in the Cross at Florence (Academy Nr. 434), in which the white line starting from the ear and separating beard and hair is particularly distinct; a device we have not been able to find in works of purely Florentine origin. The Academy Cross, although probably by a Florentine master, is so strongly influenced by the Berlinghieri as almost to obliterate its Florentine qualities; they can be traced rather than in the body of Christ in the small scenes flanking it. There the strong, but inarticulate modelling of the faces, the frequent, but irregular spots of high light, the relatively primitive drapery are not too far

<sup>37</sup>"Stories of the apostles": Philippus. I owe this observation to Dr. Werner Haftmann whose forthcoming book on the representation of statues on columns in medieval art deals at length with this important source of antique influence.

<sup>38</sup>This observation alone should suffice to refute the theory that the Berlinghieri depended on the school of Salzburg. W. Arslan in *Rivista d'Arte* vol. XVIII, 936, p. 24.



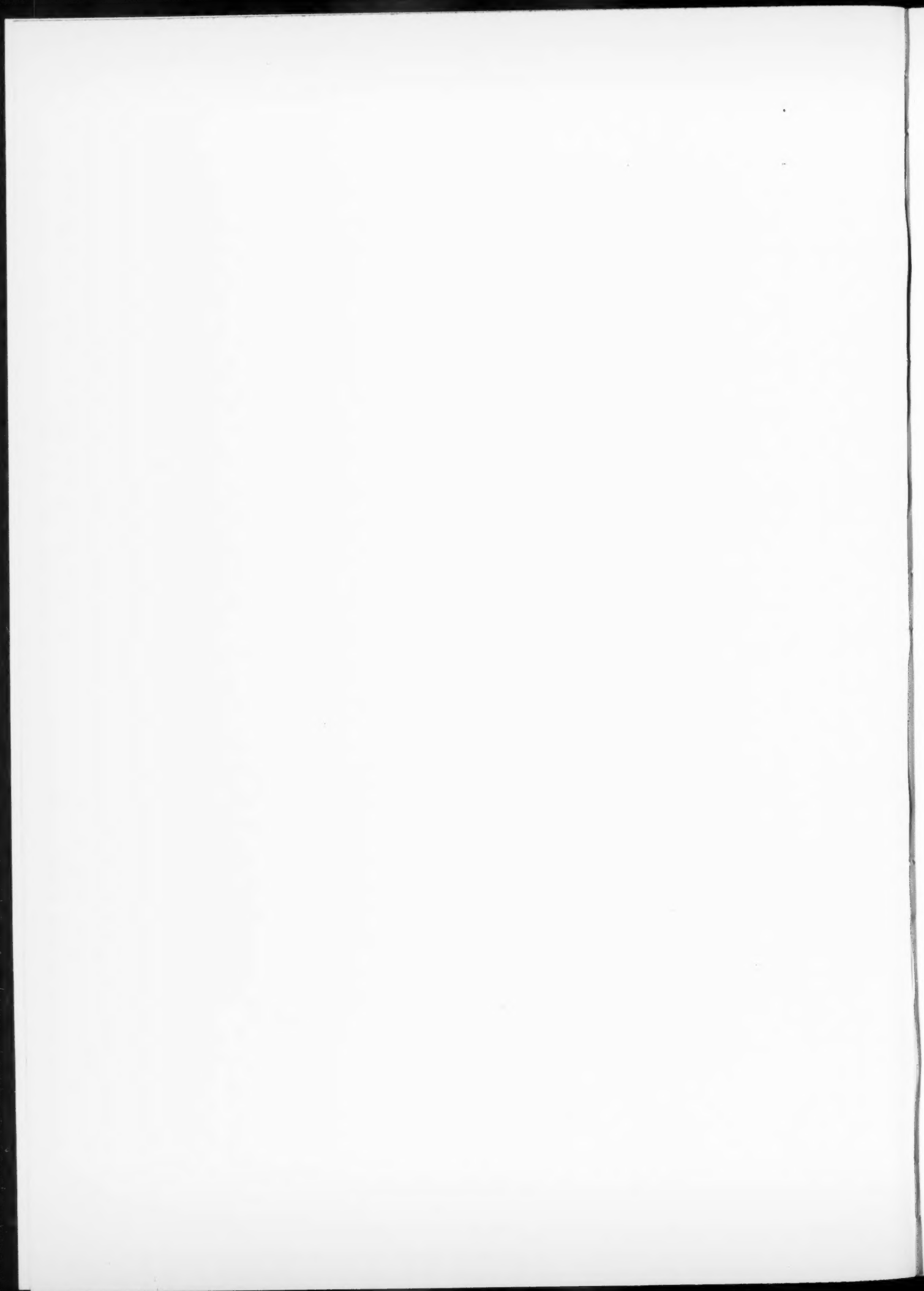
Pl. 6. MICHA



Pl. 7. JEREMIAH  
*St. Mark's, Venice*



Pl. 8. EZECHIEL





from the style of the St. Francis retable in S. Croce for which Oertel<sup>39</sup> has plausibly suggested a date after 1263, and the contemporary St. Michael's altar in Vico l'Abate, or even the somewhat remoter works of the Bigallo Master.

All these paintings stand in no discernible connection with Montepiano, apart from the general resemblance of works belonging to the same period. In striking contrast those qualities which the Academy Cross borrows from the Berlinghieri are also present in the St. Christopher. The arrangement of the linen belt which the Saint wears round his waist with the foreshortened drawing of the loose ends is taken from the loin cloth of the Berlinghieri and Academy crosses.

This girdle has brought about a peculiar conflict between western iconography and Byzantine costume. The long sleevelike end of the pallium falling over the right arm in neoclassical Byzantine art (and also in the Jeremiah of St. Mark's who has lent the motif to the Montepiano St. Christopher) is fastened by means of the cloak drawn tightly across the body. Now this could not be imitated in a representation of St. Christopher. Montepiano very closely follows the types established in the Alps. All the representations there show the belt of contemporary secular costume; in the Rhineland (Niedermendig, Bonn, etc.) it takes the form of a leather belt falling down to the knees. This belt is translated by the Montepiano Master into the language he was accustomed to from the Berlinghieri circle; at the same time it assumes the function of fastening the "sleeve" in the Byzantine fashion. Another isolated example of a knotted girdle is found in the prophet Amos of the Baptistery of Parma<sup>40</sup>, where the Byzantine costume has evidently also puzzled the artist. The frescoes at Parma (1260-70) are exactly contemporary with Montepiano.

Perhaps the sharply fixed stare of the St. Christopher should also be mentioned as a feature we find in the Berlinghieri circle, as in the Virgin of the Jesse Straus Collection, New York. But it must likewise not be forgotten that the new wave of Byzantine influence which is so evident in the entire figure has also changed the facial type. A long drawn ascetic mask seems to have been placed over the familiar features of the Berlinghieri type. It recalls Cefalù and Torcello or Byzantine icons rather than the Venetian prophets we have discussed; in other words, a genuine Byzantine type. The black line on the forehead is significant: it is the last faint reflection of the wrinkles found in connection with the two wisps of hair on the forehead

<sup>39</sup>R. Oertel in: *Zeitschrift fuer Kunstgeschichte*, 193 F, p. 218.

<sup>40</sup>L. Testi, *Le Baptistère de Parme*, Florence 1916, p. 193, fig. 153.



of the pantokrator. This is a "Byzantinism" extremely rare in Tuscany<sup>41</sup>, evidently another of those "foreign" elements which are frequent in the work of the master of Montepiano.

Of the five smaller wall paintings at Montepiano the *Miracle of Peter the Hermit* and the *Nativity* are too much destroyed to be of any interest. The *Virgin* (pl. 2) follows a type very common throughout the thirteenth century in Florence, although as a rule the Florentine masters prefer to reverse the position of the Virgin's hands: at Montepiano she places her right hand on the shoulder of the Child while touching his foot with her left. A renewed contact with Byzantine sources is suggested by the strong differentiation in the position of the feet<sup>42</sup>, although this motif is immediately deprived of its spatial meaning and adapted to Romanesque usage. The high rounded back of the throne is rarely found with this type of Virgin; a similar form of course is frequently used for the *Hodegetria* by Guido da Siena and his school; but there the lavish use made of inlaid stones and jewels gives a different effect, excepting perhaps the *Galli-Dun Virgin* (Siena, Pinacoteca Nr. 587). But even in that panel the impression of a very fragile structure prevails. Nowhere is the back drawn up as high as in the Montepiano Virgin, where it frames the head in a powerful curve. May the very simple but firm construction of the woodwork be interpreted as a first indication of that sense of stability which was to become typical of the Florentines? The drapery of the Virgin from the knees down appears to be much cruder than in the *St. Christopher*; although this may be partly due to the damage done by careless removal of the whitewash the greater part of the painting must probably be attributed to an assistant. There can be no doubt that the two remaining pictures (pl. 3) on the other side of *St. Christopher* are entirely the work of the shop. From the iconographical point of view the fact is interesting that the *Annunciation* is preceded by the scene of *St. Michael weighing souls*. Although the (destroyed) *Nativity* continues the life of the Virgin, one has the impression that the pictures of the two Archangels Michael and Gabriel were placed intentionally side by side. This recalls the similar arrangements of the reliefs of *St. Michael fighting the dragon* and the *Annunciation* on the choir screen of Bamberg cathedral. The idea of grouping the two Archangels together belongs to

<sup>41</sup>The remarkable, strongly Byzantine cross in S. Pierino, Pisa (E. Sandberg-Valalà, *La Croce dipinta Italiana*, p. 696) is the only other Tuscan painting in which we have been able to find a similar treatment of the forehead.

<sup>42</sup>Cfr. f. i. the mosaic over the west facade of St. Mark's and the panels at Ravenna, Museo Civico and Florence, Academy No. 431.

the Oriental Church; however, in Byzantine art they are not introduced in scenes but as single standing figures in their quality of guardian angels.<sup>43</sup>

The psychostasis, of Byzantine origin and represented in the *Last Judgment* of Torcello, seems to appear here for the first time in Tuscany. It does not occur on the Vico l'Abate altar of St. Michael, but is found in 1292 on the fresco by Manfredino d'Alberto da Pistoja in Genoa.<sup>44</sup>

Just as the St. Michael is a first crude attempt to introduce into Florence a new Byzantine type later on developed in Cimabue's circle to which Manfredino belongs, so the Annunciation foreshadows the composition on the dome of the Baptistery. This does not mean that there is an immediate connection between Montepiano and the Baptistery, even though in both the Virgin shows the classical Byzantine attitude with the right hand held in front of her breast, the left lowered and fumbling among the folds of her skirt; but the gesture of the right hand is not quite the same (raised as if in protest at Montepiano) and the drapery of the angel is slightly different. Still nothing in Florence comes so close to the Baptistery composition as Montepiano. On the panel of the Virgin in S. Maria Maggiore the angel shows the Montepiano type, but the Madonna, raising both her hands, falls back on a western conception. The same is to be said of the Annunciation on the altar piece, by a follower of the Magdalen Master, in the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris, which in this as in some of the other scenes is so close to the Baptistery that it must be interpreted as a popularizing version of the mosaics.<sup>45</sup>

The Montepiano Annunciation and the S. Maria Maggiore retable are approximately contemporary. Yet there is a strongly marked difference of style as well as of quality. The type of the Montepiano Annunciation may have been new in Florence — but perhaps it had been used before in Siena by the school of Guido.<sup>46</sup> The Sienese painters' sources are according to Lasareff<sup>47</sup> Byzantine miniatures of the twelfth or early thirteenth century. But the sources of all the Byzantine innovations at Montepiano are no more recent, barring the Venetian influence in which the really new element is

<sup>43</sup>Cfr. Kuenstle, *Ikonographie der Heiligen*, Freiburg 1926, p. 248. In St. Mark's a mosaic of Sts. Michael and Gabriel holding the image of Christ between them.

<sup>44</sup>C. Marcenaro in: *L'Arte* 1937, p. 110.

<sup>45</sup>M. Salmi, *I mosaici del "bel S. Giovanni" e la pittura del sec. XIII a Firenze*, Dedalo, 1931, p. 543.

<sup>46</sup>The pictures assembled by Weigelt in his reconstruction of Guido's ancona (*Burlington Magazine* vol. LIX, 1931, p. 17) belong to two different phases of Guido's *school*, one around 1250, the other even later. There is no Annunciation among them.

<sup>47</sup>Duccio and 13th century Greek ikons, in: *Burlington Magazine* 1931, II, p. 166.

of western rather than Byzantine origin. In the S. Maria Maggiore panel we notice for the first time a reflection of that last "wave" of Byzantine influence, the new "fluent" style of the icons grouped round the Iwiron gospels (No. 5) and the Berlin mosaic of the Crucifixion (No. 1990) by Lasareff who dates them towards the end of the thirteenth century. A style of similarly elongated figures and sweeping brushwork, though different in other respects, appears in the decoration of the apse of S. Piero Scheraggio, Florence, which certainly cannot be much later than about 1270.<sup>48</sup> At the same time this last Byzantine phase reaches Rome where Cimabue seems to have become acquainted with it. Even more strongly than in Cimabue himself the new Byzantine elements of this style are fused with local Roman influences, both ancient and modern (such as S. Saba!) in the frescoes at Montelupo by Cimabue's pupil Corso di Buono; they bear the date 1284.<sup>49</sup> In the Cimabuesque frescoes at Mosciano, of which only some fragments have been preserved, the "fluent" style is at last superseded by a style of sharply outlined plasticity, comparable to that of the Cimabuesque Virgin in the Louvre which must be slightly later, shortly after 1300.

This survey of Florentine fresco painting in the last quarter of the thirteenth century<sup>50</sup> may serve to explain why the Master of Montepiano found no followers. From all that has been said it appears that the St. Christopher should be dated approximately between 1260 and 1270. The influence of Venetian mosaics and of masters still working in the style of the Berlinghieri might suggest a date nearer to 1250, but the small pictures which must have followed after a brief interval, are contemporary with such paintings as the S. Maria Maggiore panel which should be dated nearer to 1270 than to 1260. An occasional parallel with the frescoes of the Parma Baptistry also points towards 1260-70. Further evidence is offered by the relief on the altar of the Badia of Montepiano itself. It is signed by Girollo di Jacopo; the same master's baptismal font of 1267 at Massa Marittima and Annunciation at San Miniato al Tedesco, dated 1272, show a later style than the Montepiano relief in which some influence of Niccolò Pisano's first pulpit is evident; it must therefore have been worked rather after than before 1260 and certainly before 1267. This relief bears another inscription: *Abbas*

<sup>48</sup>P. Sanpaulesi, S. Piero Scheraggio, in: *Rivista d'Arte* vol. XV, 1933, p. 129.

<sup>49</sup>G. Castelfranco: *Restauri e scoperte d'Affreschi*. Il pittore Corso, in: *Bollettino d'Arte* XXVIII, XIV, 1934-35, p. 322.

<sup>50</sup>Five figures of standing saints in S. Miniato, Florence, are stylistically too crude to be of any interest. The standing saints at Prato (G. Marchini, *Affreschi inediti* in: *Rivista d'Arte* vol. XIX, 1937) are later than Montepiano and in a poor state of preservation. Stylistically they are undefinable and certainly not connected with the cross No. 9, Pisa, Museo Civico (which is dated 1310!), or even less with the St. Francis panel in Pisa, S. Francesco.



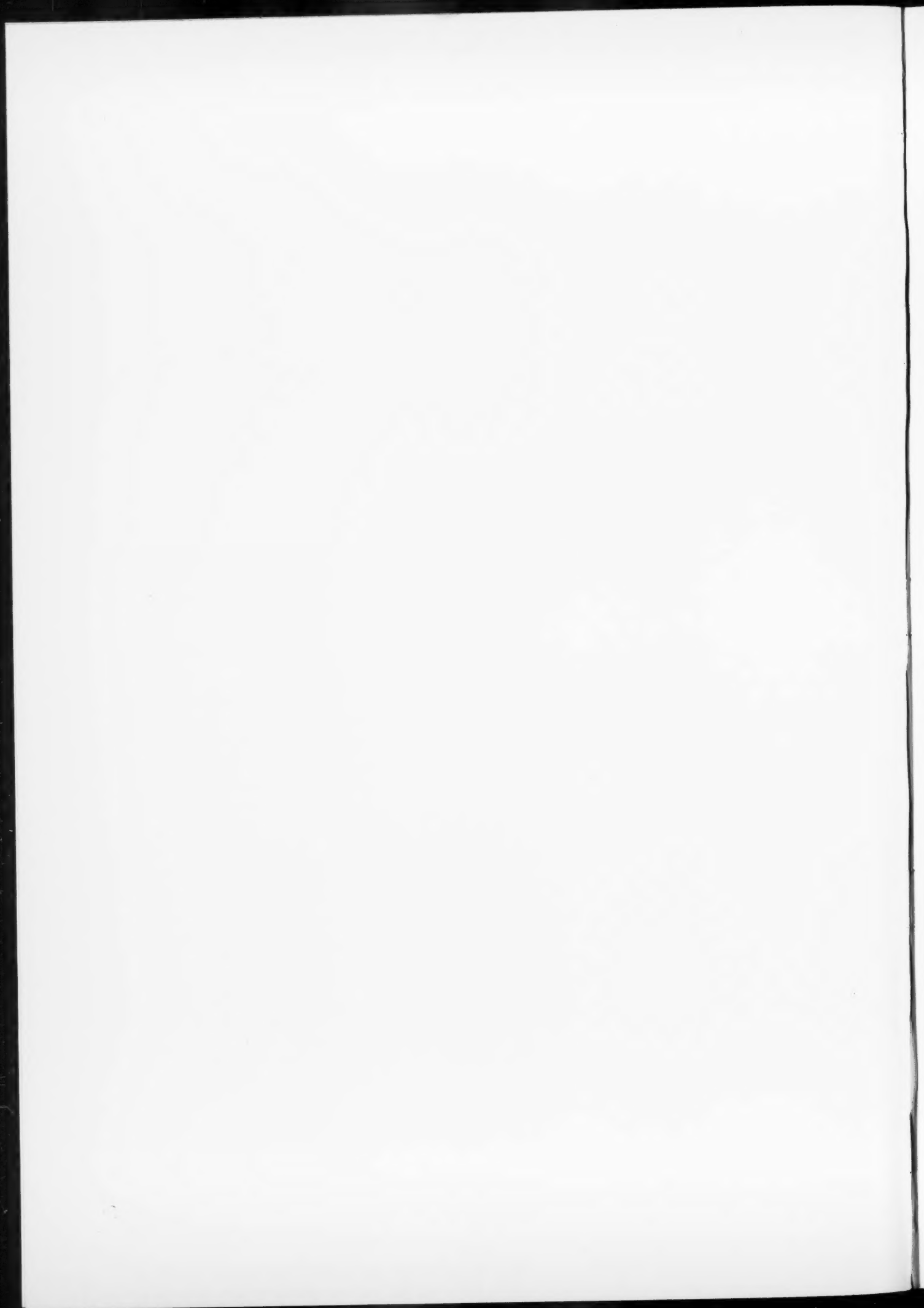
Pl. 11. ST. FRANCIS  
By MARGARITONE D'AREZZO  
*Museum, Arezzo*



Pl. 9. BERLINGHIERI: CHRIST ON THE CROSS  
*Museum, Lucca*



Pl. 10. SCHOOL OF BERLINGHIERI: DETAIL OF  
CHRIST ON THE CROSS  
*Palazzo di Venezia, Rome*



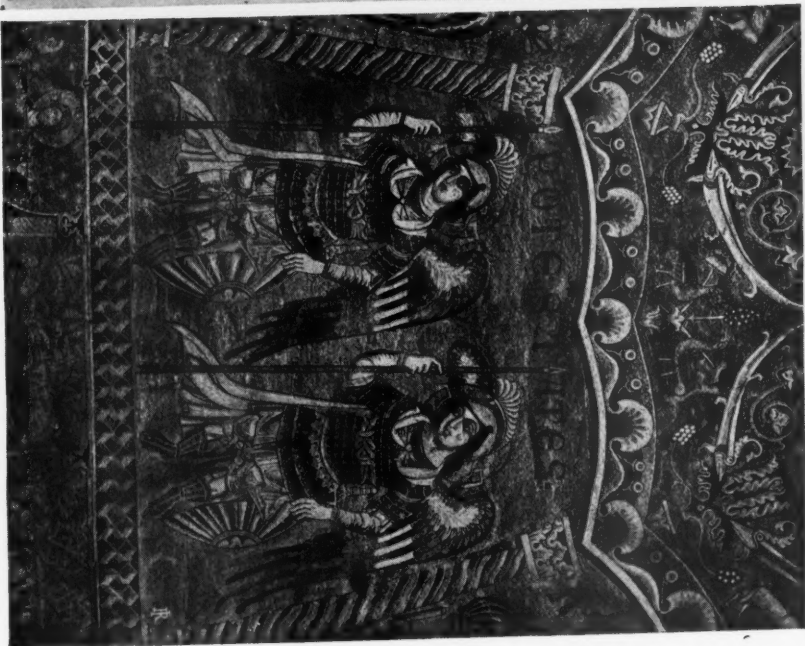




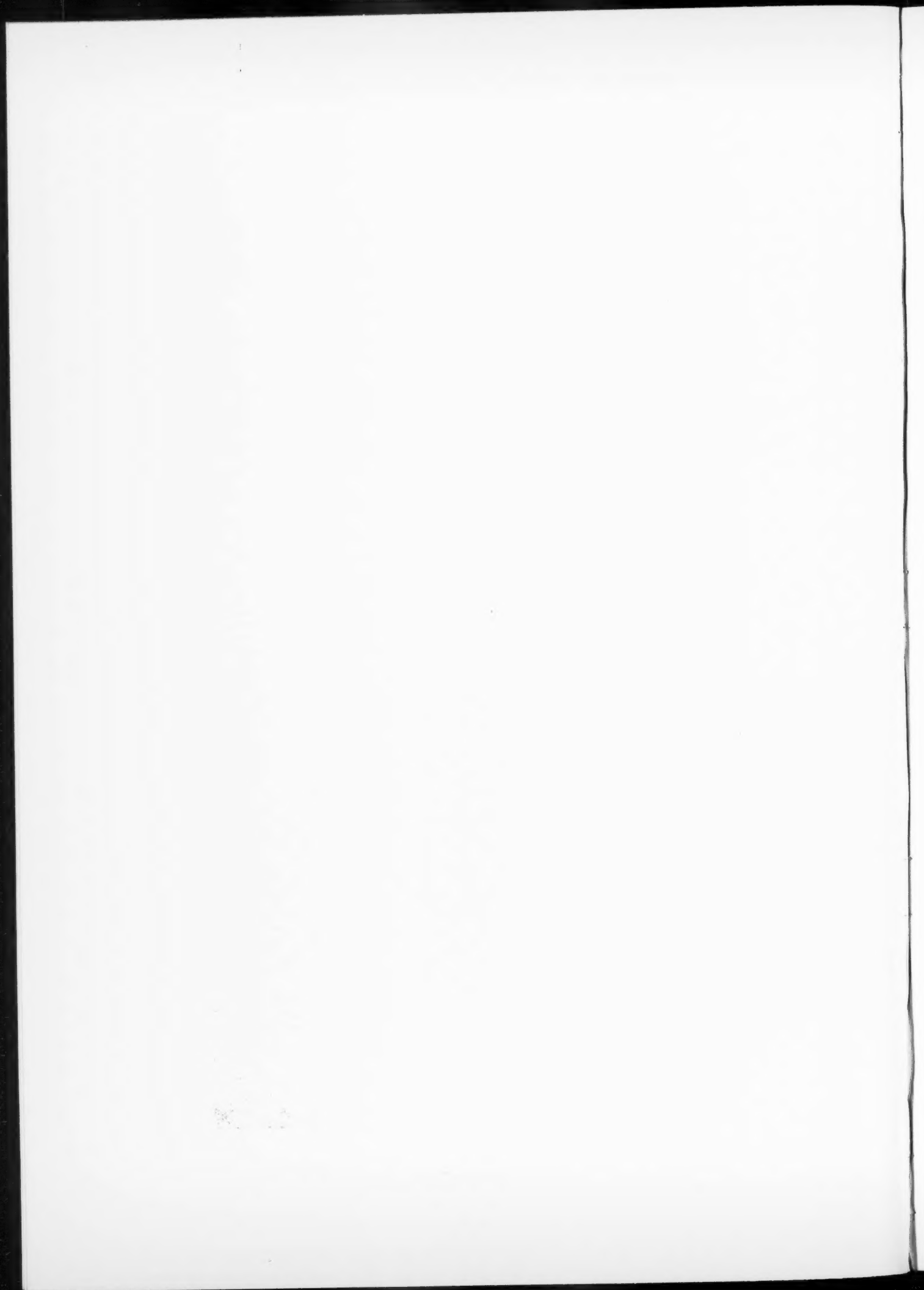
Pl. 12. APOSTLES: LAST JUDGMENT  
*Baptistry, Florence*



Pl. 13. ST. LUKE  
*Academy, Florence*



Pl. 14. POTESSTATES  
*Baptistry, Florence*



*Beneventus fecit renovare* which evidently means that the altar was renovated at the time when the sculptured slab was added to it. Now the inscription under the St. Christopher reads (pl. 5):

D[OMIN]US IOH[ANN]ES M[ON]TISPLANI ET GOC[COL]US CONV[ERS]US FECER[UNT] FAC[ERE] H[OC] OP[US].  
 DO[M]IN[US] IOH[ANN]ES M[ON]TISPLANI ET GOC[COL]US CONV[ERS]US FECER[UNT] FAC[ERE] H[OC] OP[US].

The second of these two men is mentioned as "Goccolus conversus et sindicus mon. Sae. Marie de Montepiano" in 1274 when he represented the monastery in a lawsuit against some men accused of having stolen rye from fields belonging to the Badia.<sup>51</sup> In all probability Dominus Johannes was an abbot of Montepiano<sup>52</sup>; he must then have been a successor of Beneventus. Unfortunately, as the abbots' lists have not been preserved, the facts about this Johannes cannot be ascertained; but all the evidence points towards dating the St. Christopher between 1260 and 1270.

It now becomes clear that the "fluent" style followed almost immediately upon the work of the Montepiano Master. His art, based upon the monumental concepts of the first half of the century and rapidly declining in the hands of his assistants, had no chance against the latest wave of Byzantine influence.

There is within the compass of Tuscan painting only one picture that shows a style similarly composed of Berlinghieri and Venetian elements: Margaritone d'Arezzo's St. Francis in Arezzo (pl. 11). This panel differs in style and even slightly in quality from the several other very poor representations of St. Francis by that master's hand; it seems to be an early work, in some way connected with the style of Montepiano. This raises the question: were there any other channels through which Venetian influence, and this particular Venetian influence, might have reached a master like Margaritone? Could the mosaics of the Baptistry have been his source?

Much has been written about the connection between the mosaics of St. Mark's and those of Florence although this connection is extremely slight. The Venetian mosaicists who in 1218 were called to Rome to work on S. Paolo fuori le Mura belong to the same school which produced the prophets in St. Mark's. But on their way to Rome the Venetians do not seem to have stopped in Florence; certainly the influence of this particular style which left so strong a mark on the Montepiano St. Christopher and

<sup>51</sup>In the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence: Memorie della famiglia Alberti, Cod. 1946, p. 231. This is a 17th century collection of copies. Hence the spelling Goccolus for Goccolus.

<sup>52</sup>There is in that period no Giovanni among the members of the Alberti family; they are further not called Domini M(ontisplani) but comites Mangonae.

Margaritone's St. Francis, cannot be traced anywhere in the Baptistery. A comparison drawn by Demus<sup>53</sup> between the apostles flanking the figure of Christ in the *Last Judgment* of the Baptistery and what he calls the second style (ca. 1258-90) of the St. Mark porches refers to a later phase of evolution and purports to demonstrate only the parallel and independent development of a style of increasing plastic volume.

Salmi has tried to prove a close affinity between these apostles of the *Last Judgment* and the altar panel in the Musée des Arts décoratifs. Here we cannot agree: the Virgin seated next to Christ in the row of the apostles is too different from the Paris Virgin to allow for any identification of style in the strict sense of the word; she might just as well or with better reason be compared to the Virgin of the Panzano panel. But doubtless Salmi has observed correctly that the apostles belong to a native, popular trend of Florentine painting which has its parallel in contemporary panels. Still there is within the entire *Last Judgment* only one group that shows a marked stylistic affinity to panel painting: the three patriarchs (pl. 12) under the left row of apostles of whom they are a later derivation. Thus they correspond not only in style but also in chronology to the panel in the Musée des Arts décoratifs and still more to the St. Luke in the Academy, Florence (pl. 13). Both belong to followers of the Magdalen Master and may safely be dated between 1280-90. The four rows of "stories" which fill the rest of the dome cannot have been begun long before that time. They cannot therefore have influenced either Montepiano or Margaritone and they certainly show no resemblance to the specific Venetian style we are trying to trace.

The only parts of the dome not yet mentioned are the throni and potestates of the uppermost zone (pl. 14) and the angels blowing trumpets on the *Last Judgment*. They are also the only parts in which an Adriatic influence is evident: but the throni and potestates are indebted to the style, half northern Romanesque in origin, which in the beginning of the century appears in the *Last Judgment* of Torcello and in the central dome of St. Mark's. But there is also in this highest circle of the Baptistery dome a strong infusion of Berlinghieri influence, particularly obvious in the Christ Creator.<sup>54</sup> The angels of the *Last Judgment* owe little more than iconographical elements to Torcello, their style is already closely connected with

<sup>53</sup>Demus, *Mosaiken*, p. 64, 99

<sup>54</sup>This explains a certain similarity of style between the Christ Creator and the Academy cross No. 434 which Salmi erroneously believes to be derived from the mosaic (l. c. p. 550). The Christ Creator, by the way, is very badly preserved. Old photographs taken before the restorations show a different system of drapery and a less sullen expression of the face.

the local Florentine mannerism that informs the rest of the *Last Judgment*. The fact that the highest circle and the angels of the Judgment are thus linked together supplies a strong argument in favor of the theory which would date the first mosaics of the dome not before 1250.

This analysis is on the whole supported by Demus who calls the Venetian influence on the mosaics of the Baptistery "sporadic"<sup>55</sup>, and by the documents which do not allude to mosaics before 1271 and mention "masters to be called from Venice or elsewhere" only in 1301.<sup>56</sup>

It appears, therefore, that the Master of Montepiano stood under no obligation to any Florentine contemporaries for the Venetian elements of his style which he imported from the North together with the iconographical subject of St. Christopher. Nor has he exercised any influence upon Tuscan painting; the "purer" form of his Annunciation which appears later on in the Baptistery does not prove any connection between the two. His work is a brilliant and surprising phenomenon promising a development which did not materialize, because it was quickly superseded by the more modern Neobyzantine and Romanized style of Cimabue.

<sup>55</sup>Demus, *Mosaiken*, p. 67. The scenes from the story of Joseph in the second zone of the Baptistery owe little more to Venice than perhaps the suggestion to include them in the program.

<sup>56</sup>Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, IV, p. 462. Demus, *Mosaiken*, p. 65 (on Apollonius).

## ROBERT LOFTIN NEWMAN

BY FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN  
*Westport, Connecticut*

Although Robert Loftin Newman never married, the subject of mother and child intrigued him throughout his life and it is probable that insofar as America is concerned no artist seriously challenged his supremacy as a painter of the Madonna and Child. Whether he pictured them in little, as in the *Wayside Madonna*, in medium size like the *Mother and Child*, or at full-length as in the *Madonna and Child* at the Babcock Gallery (see page 100), the intimate human touch fuses them all with an unforgettably sensitive understanding of spiritual as contrasted to worldly significance. The greatest, I think, of our native colorists Newman invested his graphic creations with a splendor sensitively suited to their particular appeal and nowhere more successfully than in these pictures.

Examining his other inventions one is impressed by his almost complete



concern with fairylike interpretation: Pan with his Pipe, Gypsies telling fortunes, or figures of tragedy like that masterly little picture of madness called *The Wandering Mind* (one of the masterpieces of tragedy in modern art). His Madonnas are imbued with the vitality of life in its relation to the world in which we live and have our being. They glorify motherhood, and with more than a little magic express the first response of childhood to love. As often as not his figures are summarily drawn with sufficient care only to be seemingly well drawn, for he deliberately chose to somewhat sacrifice any insistence upon realism which the observer is competent to imagine for himself in order to express the spiritual inferences implied in the subject. Indeed it would be difficult to find in the art of any time or any country a rendering of the subject which more forcibly presents the spiritual and emotional implications of the group. A great colorist, Newman succeeds with color almost exclusively in interpreting with supreme success this as well as every other subject he chose to picture. Color that has brilliance and at the same time depth, hues that are fused in passages of sensitive feeling and values that vary like the tones of perfect music were the instruments with which he built his compositions into structures of impressive grandeur the like of which exists only in the masterpieces of the past.

It is as a painter of religious pictures that he will be remembered probably, for his interpretations of biblical scenes and characters, beside being illumined with a veritable glory of color, are peculiarly personal, human and persuasive creations of artistic genius. He was not a great master of design and nothing that he produced is distinguished by that dynamic vitality which sometimes invests a graphic invention with true grandeur. His paintings are, however, so compounded of intimate reaction to the most subtle nuances of emotion, so beautifully interpreted in a most persuasive harmony of hues, as to justify the belief that they are destined finally to become a generally recognized and very highly appreciated addition to the corpus of our native art. Religion was to him the most beautiful as well as the most important experience of life. With the same devotion with which he painted his Madonnas he pictured *Christ Stilling the Tempest* on a small canvas that glows with a richness of coloring unsurpassed by anything I know in American art. The *Christ and His Disciples* and the little Magdalen kneeling in prayer in the wilderness are both original and unique compositions fraught with a depth of feeling for and sympathetic understanding of the divine significance of the events. It is easy for one looking at such paintings to think that the artist may have prefaced his painting

with periods of fasting and of prayer as did Fra Angelico in the long ago.

That Newman was a recluse, a man of mystery in the life of his time, like his friend Albert P. Ryder, is not to be wondered at, for the life he lived had little to do, I think, with the world in which he lived. Both Newman and Ryder lived like anchorites in the fastnesses of their sordid studios, their companions almost entirely the creatures of their imagining. Worldly success and the accumulation of wealth had little or nothing to do with their struggle to create something of heroic import to confound the understanding of a public only too truly satisfied with the paltry product of the popular painters of their day. So it was that two of our greatest painters lived and died well-nigh totally neglected by a public that loudly acclaimed any number of their inferiors. Only today, a score of years or more since their passing, we are beginning to appraise them aright as the two great masters of imaginative painting in America.

#### RELIGIOUS PICTURES PAINTED BY ROBERT LOFTIN NEWMAN

Madonna and Child	43" H. 22" W.	<i>The Babcock Galleries</i>
Mother and Child	18" H. 14" W.	<i>Frederic Fairchild Sherman</i>
Madonna and Child	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ " H. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ " W.	<i>The Van Horne Collection</i>
Wayside Madonna	6" H. 8" W.	<i>Frederic Fairchild Sherman</i>
Mother and Child	12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " H. 9" W.	<i>Mrs. Frederic S. Lee</i>
Madonna and Child	13" H. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " W.	<i>W. T. Evans Sale 1900</i>
Mother and Child	11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " H. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " W.	<i>Mrs. W. Penn Cresson</i>
Madonna and Child	13" H. 9" W.	<i>Prof. H. C. Parker</i>
The Flight into Egypt	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ " H. 18" W.	<i>Mr. John F. Braun</i>
The Good Samaritan	9" H. 11" W.	<i>The Newark (N. J.) Museum</i>
Mother and Child	10" H. 12" W.	<i>Mrs. Alfred S. Taylor</i>
Adam and Eve	10" H. 8" W.	<i>Mrs. Alexander W. Drake</i>
Christ Saving Peter	16" H. 20" W.	<i>The Brooklyn Museum</i>
Saint John the Baptist	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " H. 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ " W.	<i>The Metropolitan Museum</i>
The Holy Family	24" H. 14" W.	<i>Mr. Victor Harris</i>
Christ and His Disciples	20" H. 30" W.	<i>The Whitney Museum</i>
The Good Samaritan	10" H. 14" W.	<i>Mrs. Clarence C. Buel</i>
Hagar and Ishmael	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " H. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ " W.	<i>The Van Horne Collection</i>
The Flight into Egypt	20" H. 30" W.	<i>The Babcock Gallery</i>
Rabboni	16" H. 20" W.	<i>Mrs. Richard K. Maguire</i>
The Good Samaritan	9" H. 11" W.	<i>Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson</i>

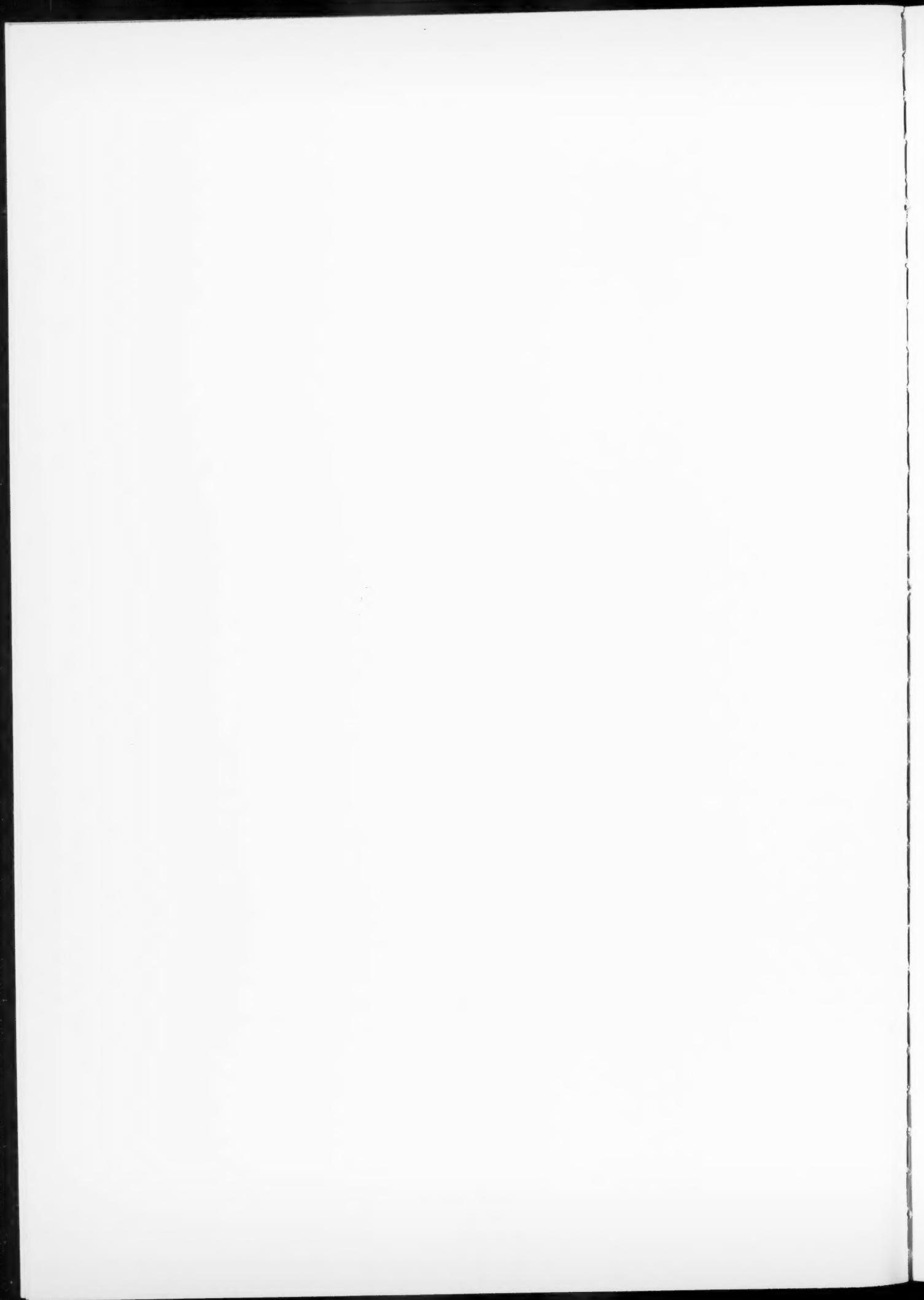
VERROCCHIO'S PROFILE OF  
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Resplendent in the trappings of the great,  
    A carven helmet on his proud young head,  
    Here stands the victor of a time long dead—  
And on his face is still the smile of Fate  
With which he once was wont to contemplate  
    The enemy that blocked the way that led  
    Unto his goal. For Fame he fought and bled  
And won her wholly for his perfect mate.

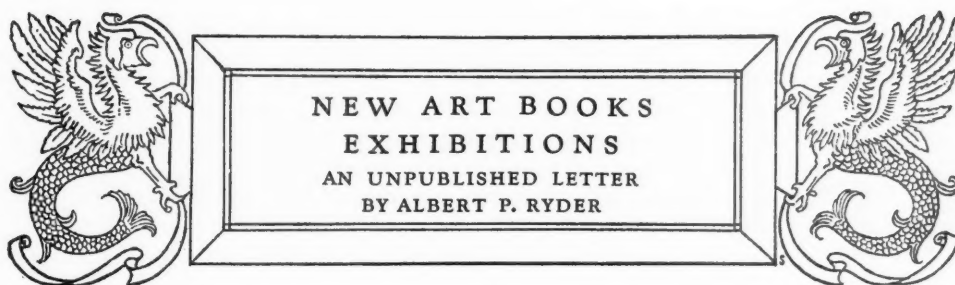
Forevermore the poet will rehearse  
His mighty deeds in an enduring verse,  
    The artist paint him in heroic guise,  
While here the sculptor's effigy in stone  
Preserves for generations yet unknown  
    The hero as he looked to living eyes.

— *Frederic Fairchild Sherman*









## NEW ART BOOKS

### DR. FRIEDLÄNDER'S SCHOLARLY STUDY OF EARLY FLEMISH AND DUTCH PAINTING

Beginning in 1924, there has been appearing every year, with almost clock-like regularity, one volume of M. J. Friedländer's *Altniederländische Malerei*. This work, from the start hailed as the outstanding publication on early Flemish and Dutch art, was at first brought out in Berlin, by Paul Cassirer. When in 1934 racial laws made further publication within Germany impossible, the work was taken over by the Dutch firm of A. W. Sijthoff of Leiden and this house may take just pride in having given refuge and faultless completion to a great work of international scholarship.

With its fourteenth volume, the series has now come to an end and the reviewer is realizing this fact with as much regret as satisfaction. For if any book written on the history of art deserves a place by itself for the genuine beauty of its own language, for the striking clarity and simplicity of its critical argumentation, it is Friedländer's. It is safe to predict that it will become a "classic" of art history not alone on the merit of its factual information nor of its lists of works or its many reproductions. Its scientific content sooner or later may have to be revised in parts, new problems will have to be solved and Friedländer himself would be last to delude himself on the passing value of a good deal of our work. Yet, no matter how much the forms of the *Bausteine* (building-stones), as Friedländer modestly calls his contribution, may have to be altered by future research, there always will remain a core of formulations which will never age nor fade because a master of precise words and of straight thoughts once put them down.

At several points, in various "forewords" to the different volumes, Friedländer formulated what he intended to give with his work and what he left out. The final *Nachwort*, a characteristic piece of writing in its sceptical, mildly ironic and mellow way, frankly admits that a "severe critic" might point out "gaps, contradictions and a lack of coherence." The true merits of his work, indeed, can be appreciated only on the ground of and in relationship to his own avowed ends. He never set out to trace the development of forms or fashions, nor to study iconographic changes, nor to consider artistic expression in the light of its social background. The attentive reader, to be sure, will find much valuable and clear-sighted comment even on such questions, but those are marginal notes, crumbs falling from a rich table. Friedländer's main object throughout his career has been the reconstruction of artistic personalities. His method consisted of critical scrutiny of written sources combined with a talent, intuitive rather than conscious, grouping of unattributed items on the basis of stylistic qualities. To the fact that for more than forty years his judgment has been widely accepted as final, he owes a first-hand knowledge of drifting originals which no one else has or for that matter prob-

ably ever will have. His work, therefore, is strictly the bequest of a great connoisseur whose understanding for the individual language of forms is as keen as his knowledge of the entire range of material is wide.

Chronologically the work keeps within boundaries which Friedländer had mapped out as early as 1916 in a slim volume called *Von Eyck bis Bruegel* (a formulation which has become almost a slogan). But whereas in 1916 he dealt only with a few selected masters, his later effort was bent on completeness. Thus he proceeded for example in his earlier work from Lucas van Leyden directly to Bruegel. Now three volumes were needed to deal with the material between the two masters. The final register counts nearly ninety artists known by name and about half that many anonymous artists. The last two volumes, which are the immediate concern of this review, are devoted to artists who worked as contemporaries of Bruegel and to Bruegel himself. The last one contains, besides, supplements to the preceding volumes.

By choosing A. Mor to head the title of Vol. XIII, Friedländer gave expression not only to his belief in the outstanding greatness of this artist but also to his reiterated conviction that Flemish art of the sixteenth century profited from any coercion to hold on to nature. Hence he considers portraiture in general if not the leading at least the most successful and satisfactory branch of Flemish painting in a period decline (with the exception of Bruegel). With his standards derived from the accurate observation and meticulous realism of the fifteenth century masters, one can understand indeed how with a sigh of relief, as it were, he greets the powerful self-portrait of Lambert Lombard in Liege or the portraits by Floris, the attribution to whom of the *Family-group* in Antwerp is one of his happiest suggestions. He deals with genuine warmth with the portrait painter W. Key, whose "work" he has cleared in one of his remarkable pieces of critical dialectics. He enlarges again the œuvre of his own "creation," the *Master of the 1540s* and identifies tentatively his *Master of the Governess Maria* with Guillaume Scrots. For the first time he attributes a portrait to Quentin Massys' less gifted son, Jan, and devotes several paragraphs to Heemskerck's portraits, a chapter which Preibisz in his book on this master had neglected. He is now inclined to accept the thesis of Miss de Jonge and others in attributing the Cassel Family group along with the Bicker portraits to Heemskerck instead of to Scorel (cf. Pl. LXXVII and LXVIII in Vol. 12). Most important in the discussion of this problem is the portrait of Heemskerck's father in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, dated 1532, which we are reproducing here complete with the inscription (Fig. 2), not recorded by Friedländer, (transl.) "My son has me here portrayed — when I had lived LXXV years as people say." This painting undeniably has grandeur and linear precision but seems to be less luminary and less delicate in handling of tonal values than the contested group. To Heemskerck's portraits can be added a picture which is lost save for a seventeenth century drawing which I found in the Dresden print room (Fig. 6): a family around a table in adoration of a small crucifix. The attribution of the lost original to Heemskerck will, I presume, be readily accepted, as types, costumes, gesticulations are most characteristic of the master. The drawing itself, in all likelihood, was done by M. v. d. Bergh, a seventeenth century Dutch draughtsman and copyist of older masters. Heemskerck's work, thus preserved at least in outline, is an early — if not the first — example in which the adoration of the crucifix is chosen as the unifying action in a group portrait. Its representation strikes a happy medium between informality (cf. Scorel, Cassel) and rigid devotion (as in donor portraits, for instance) and hence well deserves a place in the history of this iconographic type.

Of the portrait painters, A. Mor alone attained international fame in his own time and has never since been denied the title of the outstanding portraitist of his century in the Netherlands. Due to this esteem, the "œuvre" of the master has always been bloated with unjustified attributions. Even aside from the uncritical attitude of dealers and collectors, serious writers like Hymans went too far in their attributions. Fried-

länder is cutting down the number of portraits to sixty-seven and even this list might possibly be further reduced. I should think, however, that the portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham (?) in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (not mentioned by Friedländer), should be included in the list of authentic works of the master.

The discussion of the *weltmännische* (gentlemanly) Mor is followed by that of the *bürgerliche* (middle class) Dirk Jacobsz. Although Friedländer is using such terms only for characterization of the art of both men, they can be retained and actually be justified even from an empirical study of the social and economic setting in which both artists were moving: the slowly rising and little cultured middle class of Amsterdam in the case of Dirk Jacobsz.; the courts of Spain, England and the international financial aristocracy in Antwerp in that of Mor.

While Friedländer is doing full justice to the Flemish mid-sixteenth century portraiture, (except that we should have liked to have mentioned J. Stephan v. Kalkar — 1499-1546 — one of the best portraitists of his time), we believe that the author is inclined to underrate figure painting, especially of the "Italianate" masters. One does not quite lose the impression that Friedländer is not exactly partial to his subject. The chief "sufferer" from this lack of sympathy is, in my opinion, Frans Floris, a man who deserves to be compared with Rubens not only for his workshop practices. Of the 66 pictures which Friedländer lists as by Floris, a scanty seven are reproduced, among which are the portrait group and three study heads. This may be compared to the seven reproductions selected from 45 pictures of the rather monotonous landscape painter, H. met de Bles. The discrepancy becomes even more striking if we think of the ten reproductions allowed in Vol. VII to the weak Master of the Mansi Magdalena, the 19 from works of the Master of Frankfurt, or the 27 plates with pictures by Ysenbrant in Vol. XI. Even if we agree with Friedländer that Floris' larger enterprises were executed with the help of pupils, we should not like to call them any less his own than the Medici Cycle a work of Rubens. The problem of "Eigenhändigkeit," indeed, becomes of minor importance with artists who, as Friedländer points out, considered invention higher than execution, movement and ideal forms more desirable than faithful realism. Yet, according to Friedländer's conception, the Flemish artists, by following such ideas, were on a wrong track, or at best went through a deplorable though perhaps unavoidable phase of their development. When Friedländer is pleased to find at least a well painted dog in a figural composition by Floris, the thought is implied that Floris might have painted "good" pictures if he only would have stuck to the good Flemish tradition of naturalism coupled with sound craftsmanship.

As a painter, Floris certainly was far superior to his teacher, Lambert Lombard, the intellectual leader of this group of artists. No thorough study has been devoted to this artist since Goldschmidt's article in 1919. Concentrating on his paintings, Friedländer is able to enlarge Goldschmidt's list of works by several numbers. Most important are four panels (London, Art market) belonging to the predella of the St. Denis altarpiece.

Besides these masters and those already mentioned as portraitists, one finds in Vol. XIII Jan Swart van Groningen (whose triptych in the Grzimek Collection is reproduced for the first time, in addition to a quite interesting rendering of the *Tell-story* in which Swart makes use of a figure from Raphael's Logge). He discusses furthermore the landscape painter Cornelis Massys (but believes the painting attributed to this master in the Metropolitan Museum to have been done by a follower), Herri met de Bles, who hails from the rocky, mountainous Dinant (*Sohn des Flachlandes*, (?) p. 39) and mentions shortly Matthys Cock as well as Lucas Gassel.

Pieter Aertsen is described as a forerunner of Jordaens and Snyders. The just observation that this Dutch painter should be compared with seventeenth century Flemish rather than Dutch artists makes a good point of argument against unscientific exaggeration of national "constants" which tinge observations in favor of a seldom enough challenged theory. Aertsen obviously took his esthetic standards from a social layer

quite distinct from that of his actual models. His kitchen maids move about like heroines in a classical play and he can turn a liverwurst into an ornament worthy of a Floris-tumb. How Aertsen's kitchen representations really have to be understood is in this reviewer's opinion not yet fully clarified. Since we are just beginning to see the intricacies of sixteenth century iconography, the suspicion seems to be justified that there is more to Aertsen's pictures than a simple realism. They seem to have a literary quality, a purposeful, demonstrative way of placing the seemingly insignificant in the foreground. If we are not yet able to express in words any allusion or secondary meaning, we should not be sure that originally they were not a part of the conception.

A painting which is very close to Aertsen, if not by him, and which plainly has a satirical connotation is at Hampton Court. We reproduce it in reverse, from an engraving by H. Collaert (HCF) (Fig. 4). The cleric who points with his rod toward a closet full of meat and wine is compared with Moses striking the rock, while a pretty nun, standing on the other side of the table, stealthily caresses a young monk (cf. Nagler III, 786, 5).

How easily the proper interpretation of a sixteenth century picture can be missed may be illustrated in two examples of painting which are listed in Friedländer's work. In his Vol. XII, he describes (No. 288) a work by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen as "Der Brillenverkäufer," the salesman of glasses (Fig. 1). The same picture was reproduced by E. G. Troche (*Niederländische Malerei*, Berlin 1935, Tf. 82) and called "Die Brillenverkäuferin." Steinbart ("Marburger Jahrbuch" 1929, p. 8) had termed the scene very crudely "Scene in a brothel." They all missed the exact meaning of this picture because they ignored the fact that the word "Brillen" (to hand out glasses) is figurative speech for "to make a fool of, to dupe." The girl, indeed, hands the glasses to the old man who makes himself a fool by believing in the love of the young woman, just as the old woman in the center distance is made ridiculous in buying love from a young gentleman. In an engraving by Theodor de Bry (*Emblemata Secularia*) similarly a young woman is seen giving glasses to her old husband while handing her heart over to a young cavalier who with his right hand makes the gesture of giving horns. According to the text, the woman says:

Den alten kalten Mann ich brill  
weil ers doch gern so haben will  
Dem jungen Mann mein Hertz ich beut  
Raht wem von beyden solchs gereut.

and the same in French:

Par lunettes je trompe le froit viellart  
Offrant le coeur au Jouvenceau gaillart.

The same idea finally is expressed in an old Flemish proverb which covers the business transaction of our painting: "Zij zoude u gaarne brillen *verkoopen* (sell)." The fool who is seen in the background of the picture "looking through his fingers" indicates with his telling gesture, again metaphorically, the folly of the old. The inscription, however, which appears underneath, "LX zijn tijt," does not proclaim "60 is his time," as Steinbart and Troche believe, but "Elx zijn tijdt" (everything to its time), a proverb which incidentally appears at about the same time on Orley's altarpiece with Job in Brussels.

With this entire complex another painting can be connected which Friedländer listed as *The Laughing and the Crying Philosopher* sc. Democritus and Heraclitus (Vol. XIV, Supplement, p. 128). The picture passed through the London art market in 1935 and is a most interesting work by Jan Sanders van Hemessen (Fig. 3). Besides Friedländer's interpretation it has found others, not less fantastic, for instance, *Bacchus Crying*, and so on. Most of these interpretations must be wrong for the simple fact that the homely central figure — the fair sex may forgive — is a woman! A woman between an old



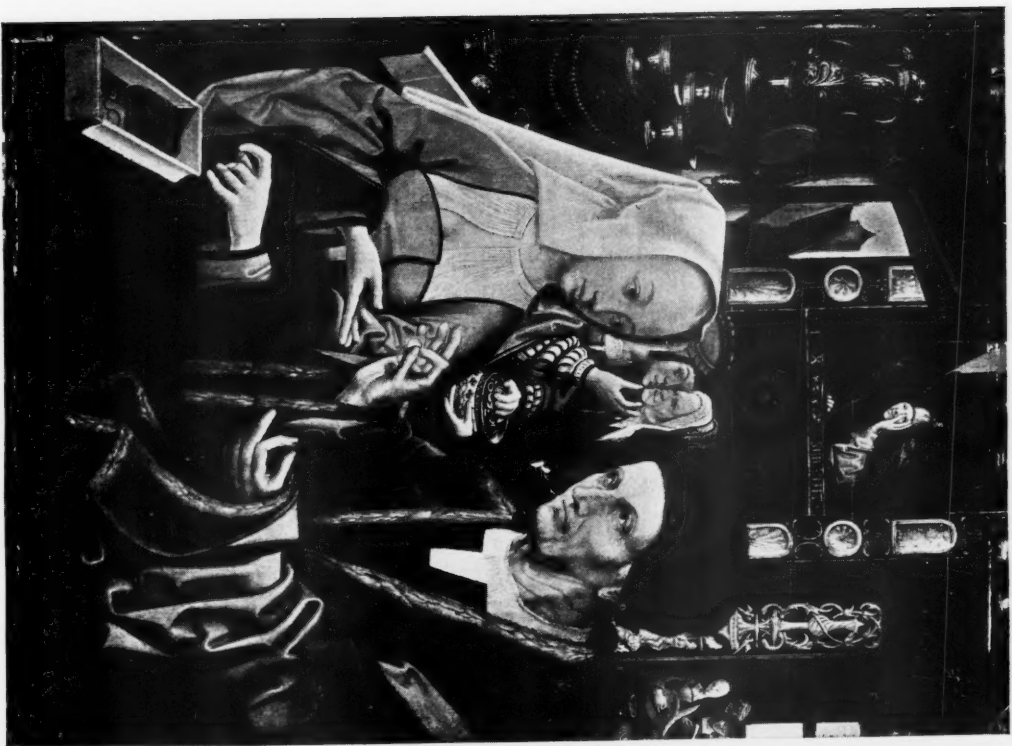


FIG. 1. J. CORNELISZ T. VAN OOSTANEN: OLD LOVER — OLD FOOL  
*Goudstikker Collection, Amsterdam*



FIG. 2. M. V. HELMSERCK: PORTRAIT OF HIS FATHER  
*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*





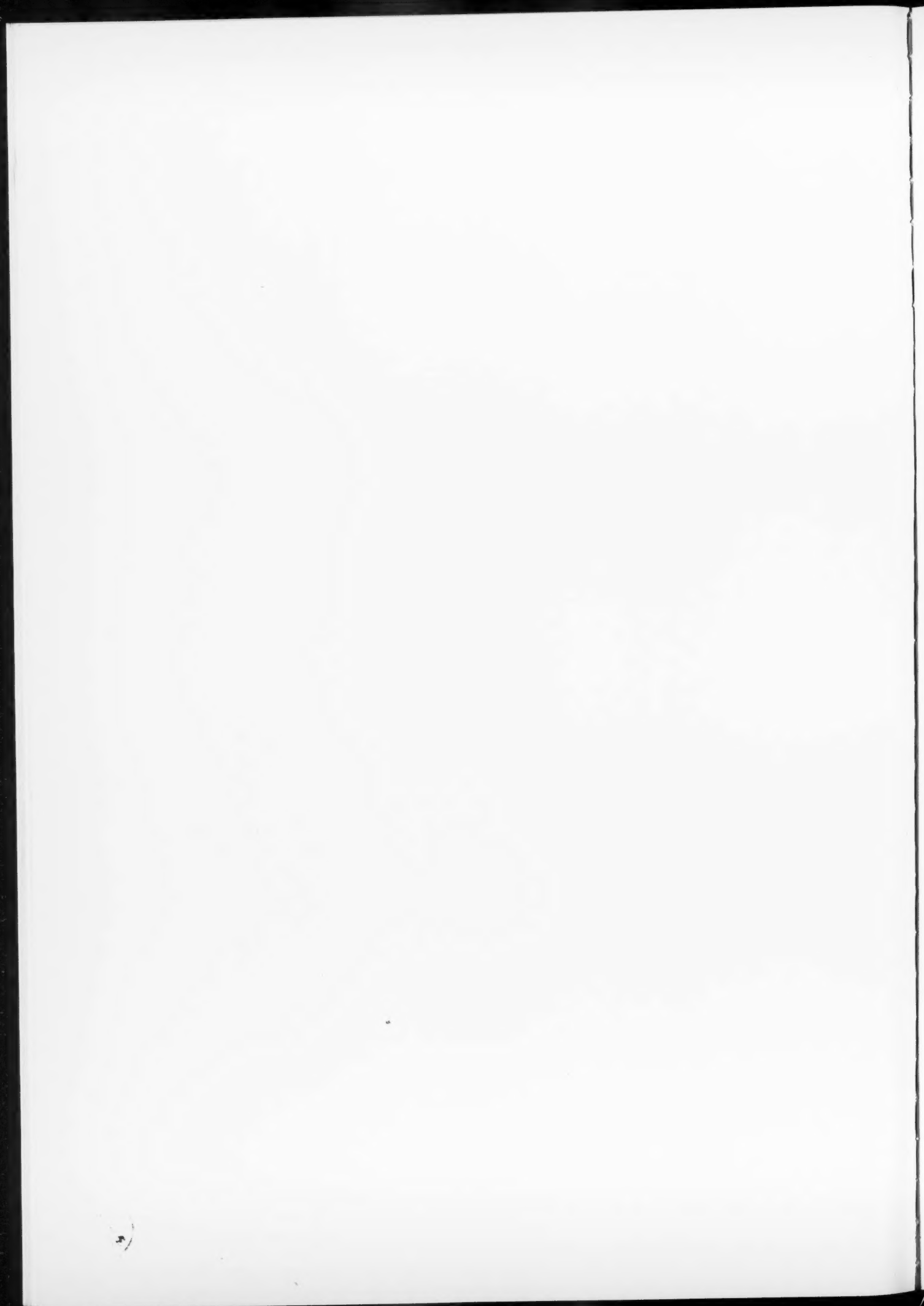


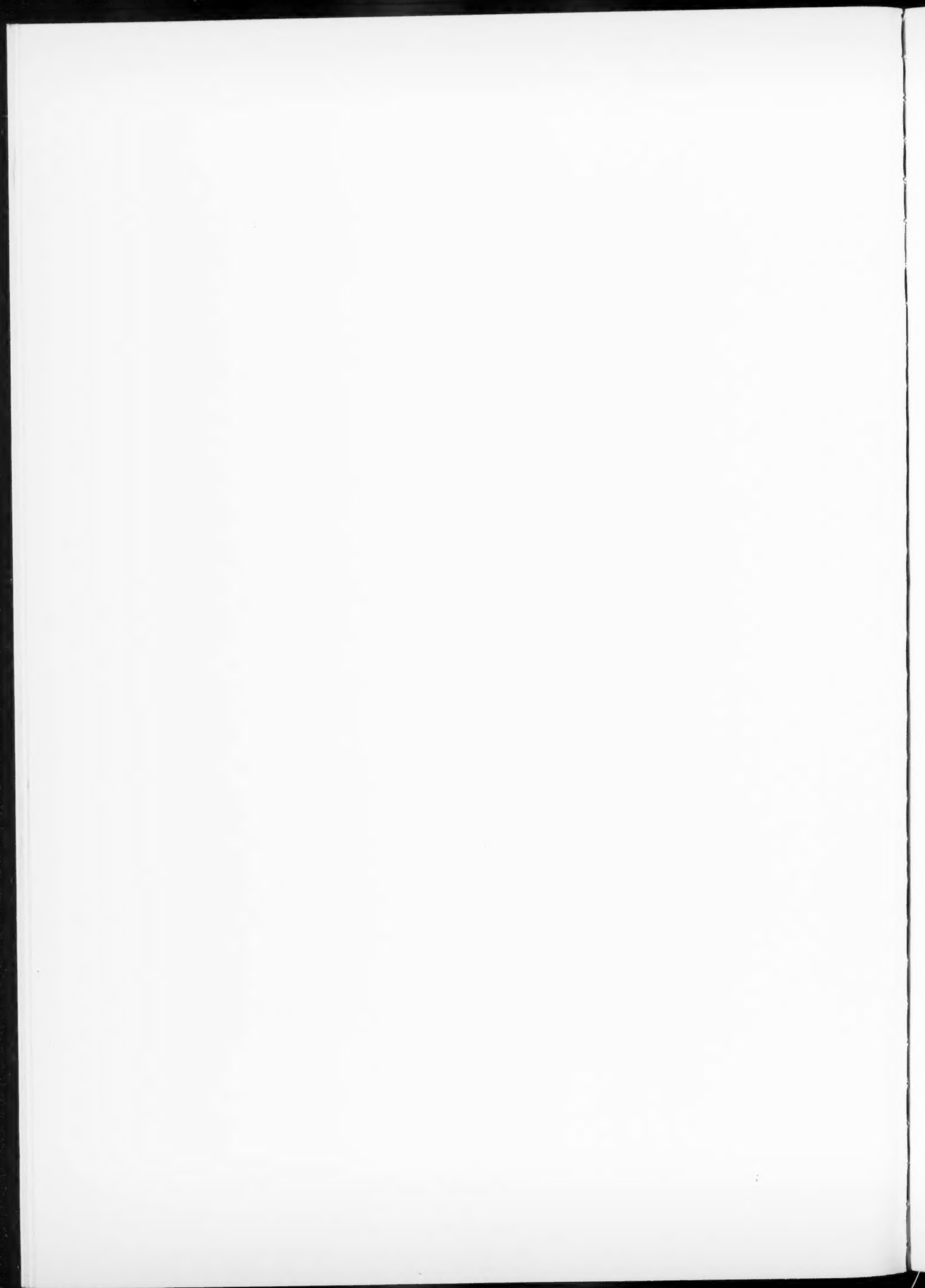


FIG. 6. FAMILY GROUP  
(Drawing after a lost painting by Heemskerck)  
*Dresden Print Room*

FIG. 4. H. COLLAERT: ENGRAVING AFTER A  
PAINTING AT HAMPTON COURT BY  
P. AERTSEN?

FIG. 5. BELLEGAMBE: PORTRAIT  
OF AN ABBOT  
*New York City*

FIG. 3. J. V. HEMESSEN: SATIRICAL SCENE ON LOVE  
*London, Auction, 1935*



man and a youth recalls of course at once such pictures as Massys's *Unequal Pair of Lovers* in the Pourtales Collection. A closer analogy, however, is found in another publication Th. de Bry's: *Emblemata Nobilitatis*, Francfort, 1593. There an equally ugly bride (with wreath, candle and a vessel, referring perhaps to "manus manum lavat," cf. Marburger Jahrbuch 1928, 130/31), is crying while her grotesque bridegroom on the one, her mother on the other side persuade her to enjoy rather than to deplore her new state. Whether or not one of the other men visible is the true object of her affection is hard to tell. The satirical comment of the latin inscription referring to "mutual love, inspired by similarly beautiful (!) forms" is related to the common proverb "Gelijk by gelijk" (Like with like), but seems to cover the issue only partially. This print, now, does certainly not render a subject identical with that of our painting, but probably one closely related. I should even like to assume that the prototype, which the engraver copied, was also a painting by Hemessen, now lost. No matter how we understand the exact meaning, there is no doubt that it contains a satire on love, with the brunt of the joke for once not borne by the old but by the younger partner.

These two examples, which unfortunately required a somewhat lengthy discussion, show how easily one can err in interpreting sixteenth century pictures. We must be prepared to find implications which at first may seem to be far fetched. This is certainly the case with Pieter Bruegel, to whom the first part of Friedländer's last volume is devoted. Although Friedländer likes to frown upon too much inquisitive curiosity as far as interpretation goes, he accepts some of the results of other scholars, without, however, substantially altering his own conception of the master as laid down in "Von Eyck bis Bruegel" and in his book on Bruegel published in 1921. Yet, there is nothing repetitious in these chapters on Bruegel. Fresh as ever, stimulating and brilliant are his passages. A lifelong familiarity has helped to mature his understanding, and has not dulled but sharpened his insight. "Bruegel's Persönlichkeit" (Bruegel's personality) has never been more worthily described than in Friedländer's chapter thus headed.

The "oeuvre" of Bruegel has been added to in recent years by discoveries of considerable importance. For the 1550s we have now two more paintings, consisting largely of landscapes in the manner of the early etchings and prints. Friedländer rejects — by omission — the *Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Colonna collection, attributed to Bruegel by G. Ring (Oud Holland, 1934, 14). This painting quite undeservedly has fallen into oblivion once its non-Bruegelian character was established (at the world's fair-exhibition, Brussels, 1935). In my opinion, it is probably an early work by Marten de Vos who — this fact has attracted little attention — is known to have been in Bruegel's company during his trip to Italy. This personal contact accounts easily for Bruegel reminiscences, while other features recall vividly M. de Vos's style (cf. the much later *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Antwerp).

To the new finds, not contained in his earlier book on Bruegel, belong the *Two Monkeys* (Berlin), whose acquisition for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum was due to Friedländer's own initiative. The meaning of this enigmatic work must lie in the direction of its melancholy contrast between freedom (Antwerp) and captivity. Tolnay's reference to Plato's simile of the cave is more satisfactory than the proverb, which he quotes as direct source, as there is no mention of two monkeys, nor of the distant view. Another proverb, "Apen bij apen en meerkatten bij meerkatten" covers the visual appearance more closely, though I would hesitate to consider it the true source.

Other additions to the list are the landscape with skaters (Delparte), the *Adoration of the Magi* (Reinhardt), the smaller version of the *Vienna Tower of Babel* (v. Beuningen), and the *Wedding Dance* (Detroit). While Tolnay's doubts with regard to the last mentioned work are not justified, I am inclined to follow him in his scepticism about the *Two Peasants Binding Brushwood* (probably a rendering of the month of March, not a proverb) (Belgrad, F. No. LI, pl. XXII). Friedländer no longer accepts the heads in Copenhagen and in Montpellier, but insists on the authenticity of the

*Expulsion of the Moneychangers* (Copenhagen), the fragment with St. Martin, (Vienna), the *Twelve Proverbs* (Mayer v. D. Bergh), the *Wedding Procession* (Northwick Park), and the *Peasants' Dance* (Lugano, Rohoncz) which he mentions as having been cleaned recently, to its advantage. He also would like to consider the lost original of the often found *Still-life with Herrings* (perhaps the proverb: "Tot Haring Mos-terd"?) as having been done by Bruegel.

The last part of Vol. XIV consists of addenda to the previous volumes. Here the author took the opportunity to make unmistakably clear where he stands on some of the much debated problems of early Flemish painting, especially with regard to the Van Eyck and the Flémalle-Rogier "case." In the Eyck question he believes with Renders that Jan van Eyck alone is the author of the Ghent altarpiece and of the best group of miniatures in the Turin-Milan prayerbook. He does not follow Renders in denying the existence of a painter, Lubrecht (or Hubrecht) van Heycke altogether, but refuses to believe that anything is known about his works. He adheres to his attribution of the *Friedsam Annunciation* to Petrus Christus (against Panofsky) admitting at the most its having been copied from an earlier composition. Friedländer and Renders agree also with regard to the problem Rogier-Flémalle. Friedländer considers the works of the so-called Master of Flémalle as youthful creations of Rogier (he has arranged them in approximate chronological order on pg. 84/85) and derives support for this theory on the stylistic side from the Turin altarpiece (now Coll. Abegg, Zuger See) which to him is the "missing link" between the "oeuvres" of the two masters. If any, he would single out the two panels in the Prado and the Berlin *Crucifixion* as not belonging in the "reunited" work of Rogier. The emphatic and repeated expression of confidence in the theory of Renders, coming from a man like Friedländer can not be taken lightly even by those who believe they have found a contrary solution.

To report how much new material is contained in the various supplements (which are arranged according to volumes and masters, and subdivided into corrections and additions to the former list, and listings of newly found paintings) would lead too far. It may suffice to say that comparatively little is added to the work of Hugo van der Goes and Geertgen, much to the list of Bosch and of Massys. New documentary evidence has been unearthed for Jan Joest; the Master of St. Augustin (first discussed by Friedländer in this magazine, 1937, 47) and the *Mannerist of Amiens* are added as new figures; the theory about Cornelius van Cleve is affirmed and a list of his works given. Of Vermeyen, the first signed painting has come to light, but unfortunately has not been reproduced. In the supplement to B. van Orley two wings are mentioned making part of the same (?) altarpiece as the pictures in the former Schiff collection, New York. On the backs of all these panels were scrolls, portraits of abbots and on some also the figure of the Virgin. I happen to be able to reproduce one of them (Fig. 5), from the back of the *Beheading of the Baptist* which was made into a separate small panel by a clever dealer. Stylistically, these parts differ from the front, and may have been painted by a different artist than Orley. They are more closely related to the works of Bellegambe, a fact which perhaps could be used in discussing the stylistic provenance of this Valenciennes master.

Among the reproductions which illustrate the supplements, nearly one-fifth are taken from American collections. There is, for instance, the *Nativity* by Petrus Christus (Mellon) whose framework is directly derived from D. Bouts (not Rogier!) and the St. Luke painting the *Madonna* (Boston) by Rogier which now definitely is accepted as the original. Since it is little known, if at all, I should like to call attention to the fact that it was an American scholar, William Rankin, who long before anybody else (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905) and in passionately convincing terms, defended the Boston painting as the original against the European copies.

The name of Aert Claeszoon van Leyden does not appear in the general index of Vol. XIV, although a short paragraph is found on him in Vol. XII, p. 9. Since this



reviewer believes he made the first conclusive attribution of a painting to this master (cf. *ART IN AMERICA*, 23, 1) he may be forgiven for once more calling attention to this fact, especially as the painting is in the collection of the New York Historical Society. In the meantime, F. Winkler (*Preuss. Jahrbuch*, 1935, p. 117) has also published an article on Aertgen, the results of which, though at first glance apparently at variance with those set forth in my article, in point of fact supplement it without contradiction. Following van Mander, we have to expect a decided change in Aertgen's development, whose "first style was in the manner of his teacher Engelbrechtsen; but when he later saw works by van Scorel he followed these and finally those of van Heemskerck." The New York *Last Judgment* must belong to his early period, ca. 1525/30. Nothing that Winkler published can possibly have been done before the late 1530s or 1540s, thus at a period for which an influence from Scorel and Heemskerck must be assumed and indeed can be observed in the works in question. There are, on the other hand, similarities enough to link up the different works with each other as the creations of one master.

Going back to Friedländer's opus, there are a few minor technical points which we should like to mention. Most readers will sorely miss a general index according to places. Although ownership of paintings in private collections frequently shift, and many paintings actually may be at different places now than those mentioned in Friedländer's indices, we think that even a partly outdated index of places would have been better than none at all. Anyone unfamiliar with the author's attribution of a given work may have quite some difficulty in finding out, if and where it has been discussed. For the use of the supplement in references, numbering of the newly added paintings would have been most helpful. Another "Schönheitsfehler" are the many printing errors which have crept into the last volumes, and the many cross-references left blank. As we are convinced that soon there will be need for a new edition of the *Friedländer* (perhaps in the form of an English translation), we can expect that such minor flaws and shortcomings will eventually be corrected. — JULIUS S. HELD

EL GRECO. *Introduction by Ludwig Goldscheider*. Phaidon Edition. New York, Oxford University Press, 1938.

These pages have consistently praised the modestly priced Phaidon Edition Publications of the Oxford University Press. Their most recent volume adds El Greco to a notable series and the newcomer ranks high among the group. Ludwig Goldscheider has written a brief biographical introduction as a foreword to the 232 plates. Among the detailed reproductions a considerable number are from new photographs taken for this volume. The book is amply documented and the remarkable assemblage of plates is as interesting to the layman as it is valuable to the scholar.

QUEER THING, PAINTING. By Walter Pach. New York and London, Harper, 1938.

Walter Pach's contacts with many of the leading artists, critics, collectors and art dealers of his generation have been selected and combined to form a delightful narrative of art-world personalities. The book is casual throughout, readable and pleasant. But the treatment seems not quite worthy of the personalities it deals with; one expects a bit more consistent analysis of artistic trends, critical opinion, evolution of taste. Each chapter is alive and interesting, yet each chapter seems to lead to some definitive appraisal or summing up which is never achieved.

Mr. Pach excels in retelling pithy conversations, and in vividly describing important art-world events. The brilliant account of the Armory Show in 1913, the keen evaluations of men such as Roger Fry and Mr. Brummer, the anecdotes about Renoir, William Chase, Henri Matisse, and many others—these are what make this book definitely worth reading. — JEAN LIPMAN

CHILDE HASSAM. By Adeline Adams. Illustrated octavo. American Academy of Arts and Letters. New York, 1938.

Mrs. Adams's sympathetic and appreciative biography of Mr. Hassam, one of the pre-eminent American painters of the immediate past, is an altogether satisfactory introduction to the artist's mind and character. It attempts no criticism of his creation nor estimate of its value other than recording contemporary reaction to pictures from his hand. The facts upon which a final or at least an objective critical biography of the man and his art must be based are all here and anyone who may hereafter undertake such a work will find this volume invaluable as well for innumerable reasons not here mentioned. Mrs. Adams's book is eminently readable and somehow manages to suggest the sunny splendor of the artist's thought and expression, his vigorous pursuit of his personal ideal in art and his definite belief in the integrity of established æsthetic principles. Generally speaking the reproductions are highly representative, though one may perhaps regret the absence of any of his few very fine large Nudes or any of the diminutive scenes painted in Paris and New York in his youth. To the present writer it seems that two or three of the portraits included might have been eliminated for one of the attractive Nudes and two of these charming little scenes to real advantage. Certainly portraiture was not Mr. Hassam's forte.

— FREDERIC F. SHERMAN

## EXHIBITIONS

### SEVENTEEN MASTERPIECES OF DUTCH PAINTING

The seventeen selected works of Dutch art which are being shown at the Schaeffer Gallery point an interesting moral: A taste for Dutch art, even if we except such masters as Rembrandt and Vermeer, is not at all synonymous with a taste for anecdotal realism. The point of view which has equated the two, best represented in Roger Fry's famous essay on northern painting, is but a natural concomitant of the attempt to create the *grand manière* without using any of its allegorical or iconographical supports that have characterized much of recent painting, and in whose admiration the aspects of "pure form" were exaggerated. Though France has succeeded in the attempt, America, try as it may, does not at the present time find such a style congenial to its temperament or its needs.

In its commentary on contemporary life, and in its illustration of local characteristics, Dutch painting contains many of the qualities that American genre art has been trying to produce. But quite apart from those classical and allegorical pictures which, as Julius Held in a recent article has pointed out, constituted a much larger part of Dutch production than we generally recognize, this show is evidence that even the well-known masters and styles of Dutch genre painting are by no means simply realistic. Nor were the Dutch painters (and here we mean to point a moral), however local in sentiment their art was, unwilling to learn from and assimilate extra-national artistic traditions.

Of the five superb landscapes shown at Schaeffer's, none can be called truly realistic in character; all idealize, yet none is sentimental. The most Italianate is of course that of Hercules Seghers, with its foreground figures silhouetted dark against the light behind and its dropping valley in the middle ground; but it also makes much use of that continuity in spatial recession and breadth of landscape vision which Rubens (on the basis of the work of Italian and Italianate precursors) did so much to further. It is also perhaps the most interesting in view of the rarity of Seghers' work. Both the Ruysdael and the Koninck are compositions which are intimate in character, and are painted in that "impressionist" manner, which was carried to its highest point by Hobbema, and

which, from Gainsborough to Rousseau, was to have such a great influence on later English and French landscape practice. Yet far from being realistic in a detailed manner, this method of catching the light on the leaves of the trees creates an abstract pattern throughout the canvas. Painted with a small, uniformly applied brush stroke, it is akin to those patterns of pure pigmentation developed in the second half of the nineteenth century in the name of an objective, uninterpreting realism, yet producing very much the opposite result.

Of the portraits in this exhibition the outstanding ones are of course the three by Rembrandt. The first of these is that of his wife Saskia, dated 1633, a fine psychological study. In the transparency of its drapery and its spotting of points of light against a dark background, it shows how much, even this early in the "successful" decade of his life, the most exact realism of Rembrandt's ordered portraits depended on the wishes of his sitter. An excellent example of this latter, more precise style, is the 1635 bust of Petronella Buys, the pendant to which is now in the National Gallery. Also properly among the portraits, even though it makes use of a Biblical subject, is the *King David with His Harp*, dated 1651, and in the fineness of its interpretation of mood and expression to be classed with the slightly later *Saul and David* in the Mauritshuis at the Hague. The *Hals Portrait of a Lady* is particularly to be remarked for its painting of the gloves on the clasped hands.

In such surrounding the genre paintings are less in evidence than is usually the case in exhibitions of Dutch painting. De Hooch is represented by a canvas belonging to his early Delft period; Jan Steen and Ostade are their usual jovial selves; while De Witte's *Church Interior* is curiously akin to some of the "immaculate" painting of today. Only the Gerard Dou, which makes use of a Rembrandt motive in its winding staircase and small figure seated before the large arched window on the side, seems somewhat bright and smooth in its coloring.

— ROBERT J. GOLDWATER

#### FLEMISH PAINTING AT WORCESTER AND PHILADELPHIA

The exhibition of Flemish painting, organized by the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia and the Worcester Museum, is intended to present for the first time in this country a comprehensive survey of Flemish painting, covering the period between 1420 and the death of Rubens in 1640. Included are paintings from the Royal Museums of Belgium and from American museums, as well as from private collections in both Europe and America. The exhibition affords an excellent opportunity for the study of Flemish art, as the various artists are represented by good examples and there are no noticeable gaps in the selection of works. The show, which is chronologically arranged, should prove of interest to both the layman and the scholar.

The assembled paintings include examples of religious, mythological, and historical subject-matter, as well as of portraiture, genre, landscape and still-life; but the general impression of the earlier paintings especially is of the religious fervor which dominated Flemish life and thought during the fifteenth century. Throughout the show one finds that perfection of technique which characterizes the Flemish tradition in painting, regardless of the subject-matter.

A notable example of the early period is Jan van Eyck's *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (Johnson Collection). This small painting reveals the artist's reverence towards the miracle which he is representing, but it is expressed in terms of reality through the minutely naturalistic details of the face of St. Francis, and through the precise, careful treatment of the surrounding landscape. Although the effect is at first one of extreme realism, a feeling of quietness pervades the picture which seems to isolate St. Francis's work from ours. No breath of air, no sound disturb the kneeling saint and the monk seated nearby, lost in thought. This contemplative silence characterizes most of the Flemish religious paintings up to the time of Rubens, and the same holds true of Roger

van der Weyden's two dramatic panels representing the *Virgin and St. John* and the *Crucifixion* (Johnson Collection). The monochromatic backgrounds of both panels, draped with unexpected red, afford appropriate contrasts to the figures of the fainting Virgin supported by St. John, in one panel, and in the other the calm figure of the crucified Christ. Van der Weyden achieves dramatic effect through the simplicity of his opposing masses of color, and also through the powerful diagonal line of the Virgin and St. John, which emphasizes the vertical line of the figure of Christ through contrast, while the rhythmic line of Christ's drapery relieves the austerity of the conception. Less dramatic, but similar in religious feeling, is Gerard David's *Pietà* (Johnson Collection). This painting, which has recently been cleaned, is vivid in color, especially in the rich reds, blues and greens of the figures' garments. Mary Magdalene, dressed in the tightly-fitted, fur-trimmed gown of the fifteenth century, lifts one hand to her face in a graceful gesture of dismay, while deeper sorrow is expressed in the faces of St. John and the Virgin, and in the heavy folds of their enveloping robes. Sincere religious fervor, verity of observation, and perfection of craftsmanship have enabled these early artists to translate into visual terms their personal conceptions of religious subjects. Figures, landscape-backgrounds, and details of foliage or costume are painted in jewel-like tones which suggest not only the appearance, but the texture of an object — the cold hardness of stone, the softness of fur, the thick quality of heavy folds of cloth.

Flemish landscape-painting is illustrated not only in the backgrounds of the Primitives' religious works, but also in the paintings of Bosch, the Brueghels and Rubens. In Bosch's *Garden of Paradise* (Art Institute of Chicago) the setting abounds in fantastic vegetation, strange birds and fish; and yet so definite is the conception, so precise are the details, that the spectator feels convinced of the existence of this dream-world with its weird, cactus-like plants, craggy mountains, and huge, brittle berries. The landscapes of Joachim Patinir, on the other hand, are restful, forming appropriate settings for such subjects as the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Minneapolis Institute of Arts). Here the Flemish countryside stretches off for miles towards a hazy blue horizon, and Patinir's religious conception is presented upon a plane which is within the grasp of human experience. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, in his *Unfaithful Shepherd* (Johnson Collection), uses the massive figure of the shepherd in the foreground to accentuate, through contrast, the desolation of the bleak plains.

Portraits in the exhibition include Robert Campin's *Princess of the House of Savoy* (Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington), Memling's *Man Holding a Carnation* (J. P. Morgan Collection, New York), Bernard van Orley's *Portrait of Dr. Zelle* (Musées Royaux, Brussels), and Franz Pourbus the Younger's *Portrait of a Lady* (Worcester Art Museum); these portraits are all characterized by that same contemplative silence which dominates the early religious paintings. The figures are treated with a still-life quality, an objectivity similar to that found in Jan Brueghel the Elder's study of flowers and jewels (Musées Royaux, Brussels), a good example of Flemish observation and precise craftsmanship.

In the work of Rubens, however, a sudden change in method of approach occurs, and even when he is painting inanimate objects, he endows them with intense life, achieved through an all-inclusive rhythm and enhanced by glowing colors. Each part of a composition is necessary to the whole; and this constitutes a reversal of the Primitives' ideal, with its insistence upon individual detail. Rubens is represented in the exhibition by several paintings and sketches which illustrate the various phases of his artistic activity. His *Vision of Constantine* (Johnson Collection), *Landscape with Philemon and Baucis* (Johnson Collection), and *Virgin and Child with Forget-Me-Nots* (Musées Royaux, Brussels) are all conceived with the amplifying and vigorously living qualities which distinguish the work of Rubens from the meditative visions of the Flemish Primitives.

— HULDAH M. SMITH





JAN VAN EYCK: ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA  
*Johnson Collection, Pennsylvania Museum*



REMBRANDT: KING DAVID WITH HIS HARP



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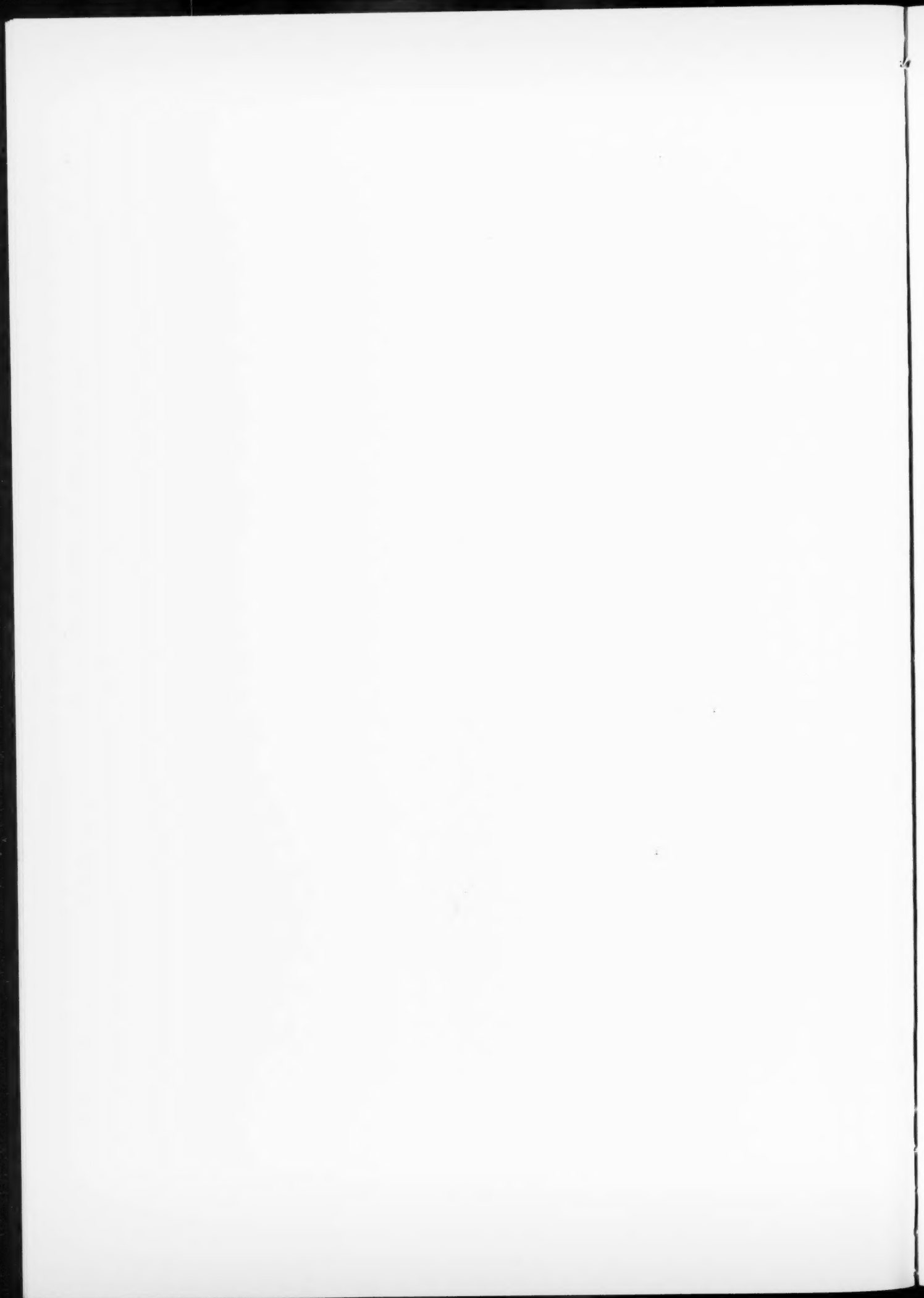


JOHN S. COPLEY: GEN. JOSHUA WINSLOW



WILLIAM BLAKE: THE GOOD AND EVIL ANGELS  
*Property of Mrs. Payne Whitney*





## WILLIAM BLAKE

The exhibition of the works of William Blake recently held at the Philadelphia Museum of Art may be characterized — without overstatement — as the most comprehensive display of the productions of that master ever to be held in America. The exhibition was arranged to signalize the opening of the new print galleries of the Museum, which, after ten years of waiting, have at last reached completion. It was fitting therefore that such an opening be heralded with a show of outstanding importance, which was made possible by the splendid co-operation of galleries and private collectors throughout the country.

To itemize so encyclopædic an exhibition would be too tedious; rather, let all who are able, come to Philadelphia; and let those who are not, content themselves with the profusely illustrated and thoroughly documented catalogue which has been specially prepared for the exhibition, for this gives a far better idea of the scope of the show than does this brief sketch.

No less than two hundred and eighty numbers are listed in the catalogue, comprising about three hundred and fifty or more different items on display, and including books, paintings, water colors, wash drawings, line drawings, prints, and copper plates, to say nothing of Blake's notebooks and other manuscripts. The result was a brilliant light on Blake's original genius, sometimes sublime, sometimes unequal, but always interesting. It has been well said that none of his works is without the trace of that peculiar artistic instinct and power which seizes the pictorial element of ideas and translates those ideas into the appropriate language of sense. It is this quality which gave Blake his peculiar mysticism as well as his reputation for insanity. No wonder that a man of Blake's peculiar genius hated Sir Joshua Reynolds!

Chief among the Blake documents was the so-called Rossetti manuscript lent by Mrs. Emerson. This is a notebook which the artist kept for thirty years, and in which Blake put down his exuberant fancies, his ideas on art, his poems in the rough, sketches, and every sort of memoranda, comprising perhaps the most valuable source material of Blake we have. Other manuscripts were there, too, such as the *Index to the Songs of Innocence*, lent by Lessing J. Rosenwald, the Pickering manuscript consisting of ten poems, lent by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, and the manuscript of *Genesis*, lent by Gabriel Wells.

Of the printed works of Blake, every known one was represented, mostly in several copies so that a considerable part of each book is thus displayed. For instance there are twelve copies of the *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, three whole copies and two more title pages of *Europe*, and six copies of the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. By doing this the vagaries of Blake's technique and execution are emphasized, for no two copies are wholly alike in coloring and format. Even so rare a book as *Urizen* is shown in two copies, while there is one *Song of Los* and one of the *Book of Ahania*.

Magnificent as was the assemblage of the printed works, yet it was really the water colors that dominated the show, and which for sheer sensuous beauty provided a wonderful experience. Especially noteworthy was the magnificent set of nine drawings for Milton's *Paradise Lost*, lent by the Boston Museum. Well did Rossetti say of these, "This is a marvellously fine series: Blake is here king of all his powers of design, draughtsmanship, conception, spiritual meaning and impression." Ranking fully with these are the twelve water colors of Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* lent by Mrs. Adrian Van Sinderen. The large and elaborate *Queen Katherine's Dream* lent by Lessing J. Rosenwald and once the property of Sir Thomas Lawrence is a superb work of art, as is *The Wise and Foolish Virgins*, lent by Philip Hofer, which was Lawrence's favorite drawing. The powerful *Urizen in Chains* lent by A. Edward Newton is Blake at his best, as is the same lender's *The Great Red Dragon* and the *Woman Clothed with the Sun*. Both sets of the *Book of Job* drawings were included, the large one lent by The Pierpont Morgan Library and the small and exquisite *New Zealand* set lent by

Philip Hofer. Besides the Milton set the Boston Museum loaned several other very fine drawings, while the Metropolitan in New York contributed some outstanding masterpieces, such as *The Flight into Egypt* and *The Creation of Eve*.

Of Blake's pencil sketches it is safe to say that more were assembled for this occasion than ever were brought together before. Among others were five drawings for the Book of Enoch lent by Allan R. Brown which were done about 1821 for a lost work by Blake. Noteworthy too was an elaborate drawing of the *Day of Judgment*, lent by Lessing J. Rosenwald, which shows the powerful conception of the theme, while mention must be made of the numerous visionary heads of biblical and mediæval characters.

There was also a fine group of Blake's paintings as well as his prints and his miscellaneous works. The whole Book of Job was displayed in trial sheets, while no less than seven of the original copper plates for the Dante were displayed as well as those for *The Grave*. Nor were the color printed drawings forgotten, for there was a good representation of them.

Indeed, in every field of Blake's versatile genius the exhibition approached completeness.

— BOIES PENROSE

#### AMERICAN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PORTRAITS

The exhibition of portraits of Washington and other eighteenth century Americans at the Knoedler Galleries was distinguished by the first appearance in a public showing of Copley's exceptionally attractive three-quarter length of General Joshua Winslow painted in 1755 when the artist was eighteen years of age. A famous officer of the British colonial forces he is pictured standing out-of-doors, turned slightly to his right, facing the observer, and in brilliant dress uniform; long yellow waistcoat with silver facings, buff coat with gilt buttons and facings. His left hand is in his pocket just over the hilt of his sword and his dark three-cornered hat with gold trim is caught to his side beneath the arm. It is quite the finest Copley I have encountered in years. Generally speaking, his faces are so devoid of even the most rudimentary evidence of basic and determining structure as to seem somewhat like the painted wooden heads one sees crowning the display of men's and women's clothes in the shop windows. Copley only very occasionally succeeded as here in producing a first-rate likeness. Besides this admirable canvas the exhibition included Gilbert Stuart's Capt. Frederick Philipse, Caleb Whitford and the superb Washington of the Athenæum type belonging to Mr. John Hill Morgan. It was also enlivened by four quaint examples of American folk art at its best: John Wollaston's likenesses of the two Philipse children and John Durand's Martha Tabb and Nancy Jones.

— FREDERIC F. SHERMAN







ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER: THE TEMPLE OF THE MIND  
*The Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York*



ROBERT LOFTIN NEWMAN: MADONNA AND CHILD  
*The Babcock Galleries, New York*

#### AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER BY ALBERT P. RYDER

In 1907 Dr. John Pickard, at that time Professor of Classical Archaeology and History of Art at the University of Missouri, decided to offer a lecture course on American painting.<sup>1</sup> In his effort to collect the necessary biographical information and reproductions of characteristic works of contemporary men, he sent letters to most of the outstanding American painters of the day. Some of his letters were ignored and others were answered in a perfunctory spirit, but in a surprising number of cases the painters of a generation ago, apparently pleased at the prospect of being discussed with college students, were genuinely helpful in the information they sent.<sup>2</sup>

A group of these letters is before me as I write. George de Forest Brush answers from Italy; Robert Henri from Holland. A concise and factual letter from D. W. Tryon lies next to a petulant one from Childe Hassam. Edwin H. Blashfield writes in his beautifully precise calligraphy: he suggests sending the cartoons of some of his mural decorations, but does not know if others will co-operate with him. Here is a business-like note from Bryson Burroughs and a long list of works in the flowing Spencerian copper-plate of Thomas Eakins. But by far the longest and most interesting letter is from Albert P. Ryder.

Ryder's letter seems worth publishing because it contains his own interpretation of one of his finest and best known paintings, *The Temple of the Mind*, now in the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo. The literary inspiration of many of Ryder's works is obvious from their titles, though his pictures are never what we call "literary art." On the other hand, statements by the artist as to the exact literary sources of his works are rare. F. F. Sherman, in speaking of another of his paintings, *The Racetrack*, says: "It is, so far as I know, one of only three or four of Ryder's pictures of which there is any authentic record in his own words."<sup>3</sup> Students of the American painter will be interested in comparing the picture with Poe's "The Haunted Palace," which inspired it.

It will be remembered that Poe's poem, originally published in *The Baltimore Museum* in 1839 and later incorporated in "The Fall of the House of Usher," compares a disordered human mind to a once beautiful classic palace whose stately inhabitants have been driven out by "a hideous wrong." If one reads the poem with Ryder's picture in mind, the interesting fact emerges that the painting is in no sense an illustration, but an entirely independent creation which with extraordinary sensitiveness plunges to the heart of Poe's meaning. Poe does not mention the three graces who have been cast from the palace: to him the former inhabitants were "a troop of Echoes." Nowhere in the poem is there reference to Ryder's "cloven footed faun . . . snapping his fingers in fiendish glee," or the "weeping love," or the prominent fountain. Still more striking is the fact that in Poe's poem the implied setting is almost entirely architectural: its most vivid pictorial image is the exterior of the palace, with colored banners waving from the roof, and the sense we have of looking through the windows and seeing the contrasting inhabitants before and after the mind's downfall. Ryder has expressed the ominous mood of Poe's imagery through the dominant landscape, and makes the palace itself merely an important accessory.

There is another point in the letter which is interesting. Ryder speaks of a "new quality" which the painting seemed to have acquired when he saw it in the Cottier Gallery. He talks almost as if it were a living, dynamic organism which had changed

<sup>1</sup>I like to call attention to this fact, so that statements like that of Mr. Leo Katz, in *Methods of Teaching the Fine Arts*, ed. W. S. Rusk, Chapel Hill, 1935, p. 210: "... only a few years after my arrival in America I was privileged to give the first university course on living American art in this country," will be taken with a grain of salt. The Missouri course, changing and developing with the years, has been a regular part of the curriculum ever since it was instituted more than thirty years ago.

<sup>2</sup>I am indebted to Mrs. Pickard for permission to publish extracts from this material.

<sup>3</sup>F. F. Sherman, *Albert Pinkham Ryder*, New York, 1920, p. 46.

and developed since he had last laid eyes on it. This makes one wonder exactly how great the material changes have been in Ryder's thickly pigmented panels since they left the crowded studio in Fifteenth Street.

The complete text of the letter follows, preserving Ryder's sometimes incomplete sentences and his occasionally impressionistic spelling of proper names and other words.

305 W. 15th St.

Nov. 3, 1907

Dear Mr. Pickard:

I am highly honored by your request.

I send the accompanying magazine article in the hope it may be of some use to you.

In the paragraphs from a studio you will find what is practically an interview by Miss Adelaide Samson, now Mrs. Maundy: it was done from memory: and gives a wrong impression in the instance of copying old masters: otherwise quite correct.

I have never had any photographs made from my works personally.

The pictures in the accompanying article I fancy are made from photos furnished by the owners.

Mr. Gellatly has a fine one of the "Flying Dutchman" which he owns: address 34 W. 57th St., New York City.

Sir William Van Horne and E. B. Greenshields addresses are Montreal, Ca. I am sure they would be equally delighted and honored by a request from you as from the magazine.

Mrs. O. L. Warner's daughter, Rosalie, informed me she had attended a lecture given by one of our artists, I think at Barnard College, and he showed an Oriental Camp which must have been furnished by N. E. Montross, art dealer of 5th Ave. and 35th St., N. Y. City, as he bought it from me.

It may interest you to hear of his remarks: I understood Miss Warner to say that he spoke of the poetry of my works as a distinguishing feature: in this connection perhaps it may be of some value to you to quote from Jeannette Gilder; in reference to a visit to my studio which after mentioning: she added that she would rather have the work from as "they were poems made with a brush."

Miss Gilder founder of the Critic.

The Temple of the Mind belongs to R. B. Angus of Montreal, Ca.

The theme is Poe's Haunted Palace.

The N. Y. Times had a very excellent illustration of it, at the time of the Clark sale in which it was sold.

The finer attributes of the mind are pictured by three graces who stand in the center of the picture: where their shadows from the moonlight fall toward the spectator.

They are waiting for a weeping love to join them.

On the left is a Temple where a cloven footed faun dances up the steps snapping his fingers in fiendish glee at having dethroned the erstwhile ruling graces: on the right a splashing fountain.

I saw the picture in the Cottier gallery after the sale: it seemed to have a chrystal-line purity: if so it is of course a new quality.

Mr. Chas De Kay had a picture of Mrs. R. W. Gilders, called passing song reproduced in colors.

My Jonah is in C. E. S. Woods collection in Portland, Ore. An attempt was made by Mr. Cortizzos of the N. Y. Tribune to get a photograph for his paper in an article on the Buffalo ex. He considered the result did not do justice to the picture so did not use it as he informed me he should not do in that contingency.

The photographer may have been handicapped by conditions incidental to the galleries.

Chas. E. Ladd, firm of Ladd & Titton, Bankers, Portland, Oregon: has a Desdemona: I think he would be pleased to send you a photograph.

William Ladd, same firm, has a "Christ appearing to Mary."

Mrs. Helen Ladd Corbett has my Story of the Cross: I would not advise troubling a lady in such a matter however.

I think the easiest way if you are pleased with the pictures in the magazine is to write to the owners of them: they have shown by their response to the magazine: that it is agreeable to them to have their pictures honored: and as I said before, prima facie evidence suggests that they have the photographs.

Very sincerely,

Albert P. Ryder

— ALLEN WELLER

